

THE YOUNG WORKER

THE YOUNG WORKER
Stands For
Unionizing the Youth!
Equal Pay for Equal Work for
Young and Old!
A 6-Hour Day, 5-Day Week for
Young Workers
Abolition of Child Labor!
A Fight Against Capitalist
Militarism!
A Fight Against the Boss Class!
The Workers' Republic!

An Organ of the Militant Young Workers

Published twice a month at 1113 W. Washington Blvd. Subscription price \$1.00 per year. The Young Workers League of America, publishers. "Entered as second-class matter Sept. 17, 1922, at the postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. III. No. 20.

CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER 15, 1924

PRICE 5 CENTS

YOUTH TO BE CALLED IN U. S.—JAP WAR OVER PROFITS!

A Weekly "Young Worker" By First Of Year

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE BEGINS DRIVE FOR \$2,000 AND 10,000 CIRCULATION BY END OF 1924

By MAX SHACHTMAN.

A weekly Young Workers by January 1st, 1925!

A weekly organ of the revolutionary young workers by the end of this year!

That's the slogan that is going out all over the country to the members of the Young Workers League of America... That is the decision made by the national executive committee of the league.

A weekly by the First! Three months in which to do it!

Y. W. L. ACTIVE AMONGST YOUNG SILK STRIKERS

Calls on Them to Join for Youth Demands

PATERSON, N. J.—Every member of the Young Workers League of Paterson is actively participating in the strike of the silk workers here, and devoting its attention to the special demands issued by the league to the young workers.

There are about 2,000 young workers involved in the strike, and the league is making an appeal to them to enter into the organization and fight for the special young workers' demands, as well as to stand firmly in the struggle against the bosses of the silk mills.

Rallying Youth.

A leaflet has already been issued to the young strikers urging them to add to the demands of the silk workers' union, demands for equal pay for equal work, a six-hour day and five-day week for all young workers, the abolition of all night work for the youth, and other issues presented to the youth.

Carlson representing the Young Workers League have spoken to mass meetings of the strikers and have presented the youth viewpoint to them.

Everywhere, the members of the league are active on the picket lines, line in the meetings and in the street work being carried on by the strikers against their rotten conditions and striking for the two loom system, the eight-hour day, the right to organize and recognition of union.

Youth Suffer Particularly.

The young workers in particular suffer in the industries which gather their profits every year from the youth. The wages of the youth are as low as twelve and fifteen dollars per week and the hours they slave, are as many as nine and ten a day. The program of the Y. W. L. is being distributed among the young workers and agitation is being carried on for the purpose of organizing a youth union in the silk mills which will be able to function effectively as soon as the strike is settled to the advantage of the workers.

All signs point to an early settlement in favor of the strikers, in spite of the police terrorism which has been about the arrest of scores of workers for exercising their supposedly constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly. Police Chief Tracy, a briefing of the bosses, has attempted to prevent Communists from speaking at the meetings of the strikers. This act enraged the workers, who are deeply appreciative of the aid being given to them by the members of the Workers' Party and the Young Workers League. Despite these activities and the die-hard attitude of many of the bosses, they are being forced to sign up with the union, the Associated Silk Workers, and thousands of workers are back on the job with union conditions this time.

Young workers on strike and those who have settled are urged to get in touch immediately with the Young Workers League, for the supreme purpose of getting into the organization.

Y. W. L. MEMBERS FREED NO EVIDENCE IN MPLS. CASES IS COURT DECISION

LEAGUE PLANS DETROIT N. B. C. SHOP NUCLEUS

Young Workers Eager to Read "Y. W."

By BARNEY MASS.

DETROIT.—Monday evening as the workers of the National Biscuit Company came pouring out of the gates on their way homeward, they were greeted by members of the Detroit Young Workers League who were handing them leaflets.

The leaflets told the young biscuit makers that the following day they would have the opportunity of reading about their conditions in The Young Worker, official organ of the Young Workers League.

Buy Young Workers.

The next day, some ten league members were shouting at the top of their throats, "Read the exposure of the N. B. C. in The Young Worker." Over 150 copies of the Young Worker were sold. With eagerness the employees purchased copies of the paper. On the first day the general manager, Mr. Peck, shoved one of the boys away from the gate entrance. He threatened to give us the bum's rush. (This was his original expression.) So we prepared ourselves for the bum's rush. But sorry to say, the expected didn't happen, maybe partly due to the rough appearance of the hunky leaguers.

The league members carried on conversations with many of the workers, and succeeded in getting their names and addresses. All of them that were approached, expressed sympathy for our campaign. While speaking with one of the girls, she openly admitted disgust with the conditions under which she worked and ended up by saying, "I am going to get another job. I can't stand it in this place much longer."

Average Four Days a Week.

The local plant is working only half capacity. The workers average only four days in the week. The conditions prevailing in this plant are the same as what is true of the other

PITTSBURGH LEAGUE TO PUSH DRIVE FOR NUCLEUS IN NABISCO

By MORRIS SCHINDLER.

(Special to Young Worker)
PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Young Workers League of Pittsburgh has decided to concentrate its energy on the drive against the local plant of the National Biscuit Company with the purpose of organizing a shop nucleus there, following a meeting of the members of the district addressed by Oliver Carlson.

Other tasks set for itself by the league were the laying of plans for future drives against the slave driving plants of the territory like Westinghouse Electric Manufacturing Company, the Heinz Company, and Clark's Candy Factory.

Efforts are being made by the local members of the league to arrange for the maintenance of a permanent organizer for the district, enabling the organization to carry on its work more efficiently and effectively.

plans. No extra pay for overtime; dirty aprons; an average salary for the young workers of \$15 dollars a week; the same amount of nasty supervisors and foremen; lack of ventilation, etc. All plants of this institution are run on the same basis.

The local league is anticipating the holding of some noonday meetings which will be addressed by comrade Mass. Our slogan is: A nucleus in the Detroit N. B. C. plant! The campaign is just beginning and big results are expected by the local membership.

Support is Needed From Y.W.L. Chicago Members This Week

All members of the Young Workers League of Chicago are especially urged to come to the office of Local Chicago Workers Party on the 9th, 10th and 11th of October to aid in work necessary for the preparations of the meeting for Comrades Foster and Gillette at the Ashland Auditorium, Ashland and Van Buren, on Sunday, October 12th, 2:30 p. m. This is the biggest mass meeting of the campaign in the entire country and all energy must be put into the efforts to make it a tremendous success. Daily Workers must be distributed, leaflets handed out, pluggers spread broadcast.

Do your share in the election! Rally to the support of the Communist candidate! Don't be a slacker in the revolutionary movement!

New York, Attention!

NEW YORK.—Branches one and six of the Young Workers League of New York are holding a League Reunion at the Carlton, Parkview Terrace, 8 West 10th Street, on Saturday night, October 18th, 1924. All young workers are urged to come and have a good time with other young workers. In fact, the whole affair will be a really red one. Roll up!

Chicago League Reorganizes

THE Chicago Young Workers League has taken the first step in the reorganization of the league on the basis of shop nuclei, being the first organization in the league to begin work on the basis of the program of action printed in another part of this issue of The Young Worker.

At the last meeting of the city central committee of the league, the plan for the reorganization of the league, drawn up by the city industrial committee under the supervision and with the aid of the national industrial committee, was unanimously accepted. Auxiliary plans for the provision of place to the foreign language speaking comrades and branches were referred to a joint committee which will go over the plans in final detail.

The plan provides for the organization of the league on the basis of six area districts throughout the city, more to be added when necessary. Into these six areas will go all the com-

rades whose place of work or study (if students) is in the district taken in by the area branch. Thus, the loop area branch will contain all the comrades who work or study in the west side of the town; and so on down the line.

It will be the duty of these area branches to concentrate on the factories in their territory which offer the best possibilities for the formation of shop nuclei.

Already the quota of nuclei that each area branch must form in the period of three months has been set for each district, and the formation of these nuclei will be the tasks upon which all the comrades will concentrate. Among the nuclei to be organized are ones in clothing factories, mail order houses, National Biscuit Company, and the like. When these nuclei have been formed, the area branch will assume the final form of a

nucleus branch, that is, a territorial branch containing all the shop nuclei in that territory, the aim of the reorganization of the young Communist organization.

The number of nuclei set for all the branches in the city total twenty-two. The formation of these area branches is the first real step in the direction of the complete reorganization of the league on the basis of shop nuclei yet attempted in the American movement. There is every sign that it will succeed in putting the Chicago league as the first unit to have been put on this basis.

The plan unanimously adopted in Chicago will be put into effect in every other city in the country where there is a branch of the league. It marks the definite turning point of the Young Workers League from a young Communist organization based on purely territorial units, to a real young Leninist league based on the shop nucleus form of organization.

GIRLS ARE EXPLOITED EVEN IN DANCE HALLS, SOCIAL WORKER SAYS

(By the Federated Press.)

NEW YORK.—Girls who work in the closed dance halls have to dance at least 40 dances an evening to earn \$2.40, says Maria W. Lambkin, who reports on conditions in the dance halls for certain social agencies. In closed halls the girls are employed by the manager and must dance with whomsoever he chooses, no matter how offensive the partner may be. Maria Lambkin suggests a minimum wage for the girls.

WESTINGHOUSE YOUTH SLAVES FOR LOW WAGES

Pittsburgh Plant Has Rotten Conditions

By MAX SALZMAN.

Every day 25,000 employees of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company of East Pittsburgh, Pa., enter the workshops to work many long, dreary hours in order to produce the wealth upon which the parasitic owners live.

Almost half of these are young workers who toil long hours, receiving the most miserable of wages. Many of these are mere children who lie about their ages in order that they may get work, due to the fact that their parents receive so little wages.

Under Bad Conditions.

For 48 hours every week, these young workers toil, hearing the tiresome, rattling monotonous roar of machinery, dodging the huge cranes as they pass from one end of the room to the other carrying the heavy metal which is used to make the electric motors, which are needed in order to keep the machinery running.

Young Workers coming into the plant are employed at 20 and 25 cents per hour. They are not immediately hired for work in the plant, but are hired as messengers. After working at least three months they are transferred to monotonous machine work. Here they are given the opportunity of advancing themselves, after years of work, to the immense sum of sixty cents per hour.

The company is supposed to advance the pay of the men every six months. When the wages of the workers reach a sum which the company thinks is too much, the workers are transferred to other departments, where their pay is reduced, and then the same grind begins all over again.

The bosses here at the houses in other factories all over the country are not interested in the health of the workers. Nor are the interested in protecting the lives and limbs of the workers. Rather than put in safety devices to protect the workers from the dangerous machines, the bosses employ additional doctors and nurses to take care of the workers, who are injured. It does not matter to the bosses if the workers are crippled for life. As long as they can get other workers to take the place of those who they have crippled, they will continue to neglect to put safety devices on the dangerous machinery.

No Vacations.
No matter how badly the young workers need a vacation from their work, the bosses do not give them any rest during the year. Before the workers are permitted to get a vacation they must have worked for the Westinghouse for at least 10 years. Then they are permitted to have a one week vacation. After working 20 years the bosses permit them to have a two weeks vacation.

Thus we find that the young workers have no vacation at all. It's work, work all the time. Long hours of labor, little pay, continual nagging by the straw bosses, all these things make the young workers discontented and disgusted with the conditions under which they must toil.

In an attempt to prevent the work-

YOUNG WORKERS TO FIGHT FOR U. S. CAPITAL

Juicy Plum of China is Point at Stake

By HARRISON GEORGE.

Did you young workers ever go into a "penny arcade"? Usually there is a machine there with a glass front, behind which stands a sort of a doll representing an old lady. If you put a penny in the slot, the old lady grinds out a printed card. Your "fortune" is supposed to be on that card.

It is a "fortune teller" machine, and for one cent it will tell you some bunk about you marrying a "blonde helena" or a "millionaire with brown eyes."

Another Machine.

But there is another and a greater and more ominous machine for grinding out "fortune" for young workers. Young workers put, not pennies, but their lives, into it every day. This machine, too, tells you a lot of bunk. It grinds out a mountain of capitalist newspapers telling you, if you are a working girl, that you will not have to work for years and years—may be your whole life—in a factory, or have a harder job as a worker's wife, but that you are sure, if you never listen to "agitators," to marry the boss' handsome son and live in luxury. If a boy works, the capitalist press tells you that, providing, of course, you won't join a union, go on strike or be a "Bolshevik," you will certainly "climb to the top" and be a boss yourself over other young workers. But like the machine in the penny arcade, this machine, capitalist society, has peddled you lies.

Now we are going to tell you real, sure-fire fortune. It is not pleasant, not a lot of bunk. It is the fortune of WAIL! War, another big war, is on the way. You young workers who were too little to be drafted in the last war, may think war is great fun. If you do, you better talk seriously with the rank and file doughboys who actually laid in the trenches in the war for "democracy" because Morgan had loaned the Allies a sack of money and had to have them go and help kick Germany. They'll tell you, if they learned anything from that butchery of 10,000,000 young men, that there's nothing for workers in fighting capitalist wars, but to kill and get killed, that those who were blown to pieces merely became fertilizer for French farmers, and those who came back lost their jobs, discovered that they had lost the right to strike, had been taken away by the government who waited six years more to answer their demand for a bonus, and then gave them a life insurance policy. The soldier has to die one way or another to beat the capitalist game.

How the Next War Started.
In America, as in all capitalist countries, there are two classes—capitalists and workers. Your employer makes a profit on your labor power. The profit is so big that, although your factory owner may have to pay rents to the landlord class and interest on loans from the banker class, the whole three classes get immensely rich and all are capitalists. With machinery, all workers make so many things that the total cannot be sold in this country, because they get such low wages that they cannot buy what they themselves have, as a class, made. This big surplus, in goods, and surplus profits, in money seeking investment, is the cause behind all capitalist wars. Each capitalist nation or group looks outside itself for expansion, and imperialist rivalry begins.

Now then, where have they gone? Naturally they pick out a part of the world where the people have no strong government to stop them. Rich resources and cheap, unorganized labor, so they can get even higher profits from such workers than they can get in their own countries where labor may be organized. What's the most attractive country on earth in these respects? CHINA, first of all.

Imperialist Robbers Loot China.
For thirty or forty years the big capitalist-imperialist countries have been robbing China. Chinese rulers were either bribed or bullied with threat of invasion into doing anything or granting any concession or "accepting" any loan that the "diplomatic corps" demanded. The "diplomatic corps" is, of course, the front-coated,

(Continued on page 2.)

Special International Supplement to The Young Worker

WORKERS PARTY DECLARATION OF POLICY ON POLITICAL SITUATION

NOTE: The following declaration of policy was adopted by the C. E. C. of the Workers Party before the June 17th Convention. It has been read before various membership meetings. It is now printed for close study by the members of the Workers Party.

AFTER consulting the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party makes the following declaration:

The United States of America is at present going through a great social and political crisis which is bound to become more and more aggravated. The agrarian crisis causing the bankruptcy of millions of farmers and the same time, causing many others to completely get into the clutches of banks, the old scandal which has accelerated the process of disintegration of both capitalist parties, all this is setting in motion tremendous masses of workers as well as of the urban and rural petty bourgeois population. The efforts of these masses to establish a third party represent their endeavor to emancipate themselves from the domination by the trusts and their political machines. But the capitalist class will undoubtedly endeavor to prevent the movement by establishing the leadership of petty-bourgeois politicians over the third party movement. It will make an effort to place it into the hands of old politicians bound by thousands of threads with the capitalist class. The petty-bourgeois movement can play a progressive part only when it will follow the lead of the working masses. If it will be led by the petty-bourgeois politicians, it will fall under the domination of big game and trusts, even if it is participated in by working masses, for nowhere in the world was the petty bourgeoisie capable of being its own leader. This compelled the Workers Party to strive by all means to enter this broad current of the masses in order to assist the masses in the petty-bourgeois movement, and to detach themselves from the capitalist class, in order to organize the most advanced elements of the workers in the ranks of the Workers Party and in order to thus create the forces necessary for the future struggle for power.

Must Become Mass Party.

2. With this task before it, the Workers Party must not for a moment forget that the leading force in this struggle which will transform the country of trusts into a country ruled by labor will be the working class. The first task of the Workers Party is to become a mass Communist Party of workers. It can fulfill this task only by most actively participating in the establishment of a labor party which will embrace all elements of the working class willing to conduct a policy independent of the capitalist class and to establish a bond with the farmers who are at present in a state of strong fermentation. These two independent tasks—the task of building around the Communist Party of a broad class labor party and of establishing a bond between the labor party and the exploited elements of farmers—have developed in the United States, thanks to the peculiarities of historical evolution, as one problem, namely, the building of a common party of workers and exploited farmers. In many states Farmer-Labor Parties are already springing up. This peculiarity of the situation which does not permit a separation of the task of creating a labor party from the task of coming into closest contact with the farmers, requires of the Workers Party special methods. The American Communist must establish within the Farmer-Labor Party a strong consolidated labor wing including the agricultural wage workers. This wing shall lead the exploited farmer masses instead of falling under the influence of the petty-bourgeois character of the latter.

Must Correct Mistakes.

3. The Workers Party which immediately after it had been established was capable of emerging from the stage of agitation and propaganda and of taking up with great energy the political struggle, has still made a series of mistakes which must be corrected. We do not wish to cause great injury in the young Communist movement in America and to the struggle of the working class for its emancipation. Although the conditions of the labor aristocracy in America have grown worse after the war, although the economic depression which has already begun, will render it still worse, although the labor aristocracy constitutes a minority of the working class of America, the Workers Party failed in developing sufficient ability in maneuvering with regard to the so-called progressive elements and did not devote, and does not devote, enough attention to the work among the workers organization in labor unions. We must maintain a close contact and work with the left wing within organized labor, but in no case must not forego our independence of political action and our complete freedom of criticism. For the above mentioned reasons the Workers Party did not yet succeed in becoming the center of the discontented elements in the labor movement. The main task of the party in the near future will consist in trying to recover what was lost in this respect, in creating a left bloc in the labor union movement, in order to lead the masses of the workers. Only by creating a powerful working class bloc will the Workers Party be able to play the leading part in the movement which has assumed the form of Farmer-Labor Parties and to exercise its influence upon the farmer masses. This influence must be broadened to the work of the Workers Party among the farmers, which must

be increased in the future. As to the task of influencing the farmer masses, the Workers Party has not only insufficiently drawn the line between itself and the petty-bourgeois elements which endeavored to establish a petty-bourgeois Third Party, but the Workers Party has to a certain degree itself fallen under the influence of petty-bourgeois elements. The statement of the Communist secretary of the committee which has issued a call for the conference of June 17th, Comrade Hathaway, to the effect that the Farmer-Labor Party will not pursue utopian Communist objects, but will, on the contrary, strive after realistic aims, is a sample of conduct inadmissible for a member of the Communist Party. The Executive Committee of the Communist International

expressed its surprise that the C. E. C. of the Workers Party did not answer this statement by removing such a member from his post, and did not show to the party as a whole that the Communist Party and the Communist International were in a bloc with the petty-bourgeois elements, must so much more sharply underscore their views instead of disavowing them.

4. At the conference of June 17th, the task of the Workers Party must be to warn the workers and farmers of America against the danger of an alliance with a petty-bourgeois Third Party with a man of the LaFollette type at its head, which party will become the means of emancipating the toiling masses from capitalist domination, but a new means for dup-

ling these masses. In principle the Communist Party does not only not reject an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, but, as have done the Russian Bolsheviks, it is ready to make an alliance for the common struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie, with the petty-bourgeois parties when they pursue a revolutionary mass policy. The LaFollette movement, however, has not decided to really break with the capitalist class and the capitalist party. An alliance with the LaFollette movement would not serve the liberation of the petty-bourgeois masses from domination by capital. This can be reached only through the deepest criticism of the policies of politicians like LaFollette and Magnus Johnson, thus endeavoring simultaneously to create an alliance with such elements of

the United States. We also point out other countries to prove this contention, to the effect that the "radical" and "socialist" petty bourgeois elements in France, Germany, Italy, etc., have not only not broken with the capitalist class, but have even entered into an alliance with it. It is therefore very important, that we leave no illusions in the masses in regard to these petty bourgeois parties (as for instance the third party) and that we do not confuse these masses with slogans which they do not understand. It is absolutely necessary, that the W. P. at all times step forward with a clear class program, that it draws a clear line of demarcation between itself and the indistinct petty bourgeois ideology of the LaFollette group which decreases its demands in radical-liberal phrasology. The "going along" with the masses, without setting up such clear points, as contained in the declaration, would be very dangerous, so much the more as the W. P. numerically still a weak party, carry only recently emerged from an illegal sect into the open, still has a weak Communist nucleus, while the number of Marxist-Leninist forces are still insufficient to be able to get hold of and maintain the leadership within this petty bourgeois movement. It is true, as was pointed out in the discussion, that "in order to learn to swim one has to go into the water." But it is just as true as Lenin once said: "In order to be able to learn to swim one must learn to WALK in order to be able to go into the water. If a baby is thrown into the water, it will certainly get drowned." As an example, of course, is only an example and not a comparison, but the position is nevertheless such, that the young Communist party is not yet so firm on its feet that it could carry out this dangerous maneuver. WITHIN the petty bourgeois movement (or as the Pepper-Ruthenberg group would have it even within the third party) without getting drowned in this petty bourgeois whirlpool.

Regarding the question of losing contact with the masses, it is the task of the Workers Party to reject all collaboration with the LaFollette third party movement, but to do everything to maintain its contact with the masses of workers and farmers. Moreover, the situation is such that the party must above all first establish the REAL CONTACT with the MASSES OF THE WORKERS (especially in big industry) and poorest farmers and rural wage workers.

Comrades, here arises a great and important task for the Y. W. L. You, as well as the party must always bear in mind, that so far you have only an insignificant part of the masses of workers in your ranks, and that millions are still outside of the organized labor movement. You must not for a moment forget that the LEADING FORCE IN THIS STRUGGLE, which will transform the country of trusts into a country ruled by labor, will be the WORKING CLASS. The first task of the W. P. is to become a mass Communist party of workers. IT (THE W. P.) CAN FULFILL THIS TASK ONLY BY MOST ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LABOR PARTY, which will embrace all elements of the working class willing to conduct a policy independent of the capitalist class and by establishing a bond with the farmers who are at present in a state of strong fermentation. (Resolution of the commission)

Along with the establishment of a labor party on a broad class basis there must proceed the building up of the Communist party (as a mass party). YOU (the league) above all must participate in this work and see to it that the W. P. is being built up in such a manner as to be able to accomplish this task. In the discussion of the commission it became evident, that insufficient attention was paid to the most important question, i. e. the establishment of a mass Communist party, thru winning of the industrial workers in the shops, the establishment of shop nuclei, the work in the unions and so on. The party has not taken a clear stand at the last convention on the question of shop nuclei. The work within the trade unions was not fully satisfactory. "The conquest of the A. F. of L." and "amalgamation of the many different craft unions" is at the last instance a question of a much stronger economic and political propaganda among the masses in his industry. In the shops themselves, and of a systematic campaign of recruitment among the millions of unemployed. The establishment of the labor party and the building up of the Communist party can only be accomplished in the day-to-day political and

economic struggle. The work among the rural population (poorest farmers and wage workers belongs, of course, to the domain of the Workers Party, must be carried on on an increased scale above all among the rural wage workers and the poorest farmers. For the first named definite demands must be set up. In many cases your whole propaganda must always be based on concrete slogans; with the poorest farmers a bloc should be formed with the F. F. L. P. and with the other farmer elements, an alliance should be made when the occasion presents itself for a common struggle for definite demands. You should support the party to the fullest extent. In the question of the establishment of the labor party, as well as the building up of a Communist mass party, thru working among the masses of the industrial workers, the rural wage workers, and the poorest farmers, as well as among the masses of Negroes, a work which is of great importance in connection with the agrarian crisis. During the election campaign you should step forward with your own slogans of a political and economic nature, and utilize the electoral campaign in every respect for propagating your own slogans among the masses. During the election campaign you should carry on a particular energetic campaign against child labor, in such a manner as to draw broad masses into this struggle, i. e. by setting up concrete demands.

We intend at this time to content ourselves with explaining more precisely the meaning of the decision of the American Commission and to point out to you the great and difficult problems that stand before the Communist movement in America. We know, that the outcome of the discussion will surprise you in many respects. The party will be put in a rather awkward and difficult position by the findings of the commission, because it already went to far in the wrong direction on the question of the attitude towards the third party. The "retreat" will be somewhat difficult. It is even possible, that the "retreat" will result in a temporary isolation of the party, if the party does not understand how to maintain its contact with the disoriented masses of the city and country, thru increased propaganda among the masses of industrial workers, thru the day-to-day struggle on the political and economic field for concrete demands for the workers and farmers. The C. I. will make no mistake in this. It is better to turn away from a dangerous path in time (even at the risk of isolation for a certain period) instead of marching further along this dangerous path at the risk of losing the character of a Communist party, i. e. to submerge itself in the petty bourgeois swamp. A retreat at the right time is far better than a march into the void, as to the malicious joy of the opponents on the occasion of such retreats, one should not get disturbed. Comrade Lenin once wrote on such a situation in which the W. P. now finds itself, under the title of "As to the climbing of high mountains" the following: "Let us picture a man who is climbing a very high and steep mountain, which no far has never been conquered. Let us suppose, that after overcoming unheard-of difficulties and dangers, he has reached a point much higher than his predecessors, but that he has not reached the summit. He found himself in the position, where it became not only difficult and dangerous, but completely impossible to advance in the chosen direction, on the chosen path. He had to turn, climb down, search for new ways, which, though longer, were nevertheless such, that presented the possibility of reaching the summit. The climbing down in that world of heretofore uncharted heights, in which our wanderer finds himself, is perhaps accompanied by greater dangers and difficulties than the climbing up: one can lose the foothold more easily. It is much more uncomfortable to look for a place upon which to set the foot, the "aid feeling" of getting ever near to the summit which is being provoked by the climbing up is absent and so on...."

(Continued on page 4.)

ing these masses. In principle the Communist Party does not only not reject an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, but, as have done the Russian Bolsheviks, it is ready to make an alliance for the common struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie, with the petty-bourgeois parties when they pursue a revolutionary mass policy. The LaFollette movement, however, has not decided to really break with the capitalist class and the capitalist party. An alliance with the LaFollette movement would not serve the liberation of the petty-bourgeois masses from domination by capital. This can be reached only through the deepest criticism of the policies of politicians like LaFollette and Magnus Johnson, thus endeavoring simultaneously to create an alliance with such elements of

the United States. We also point out other countries to prove this contention, to the effect that the "radical" and "socialist" petty bourgeois elements in France, Germany, Italy, etc., have not only not broken with the capitalist class, but have even entered into an alliance with it. It is therefore very important, that we leave no illusions in the masses in regard to these petty bourgeois parties (as for instance the third party) and that we do not confuse these masses with slogans which they do not understand. It is absolutely necessary, that the W. P. at all times step forward with a clear class program, that it draws a clear line of demarcation between itself and the indistinct petty bourgeois ideology of the LaFollette group which decreases its demands in radical-liberal phrasology. The "going along" with the masses, without setting up such clear points, as contained in the declaration, would be very dangerous, so much the more as the W. P. numerically still a weak party, carry only recently emerged from an illegal sect into the open, still has a weak Communist nucleus, while the number of Marxist-Leninist forces are still insufficient to be able to get hold of and maintain the leadership within this petty bourgeois movement. It is true, as was pointed out in the discussion, that "in order to learn to swim one has to go into the water." But it is just as true as Lenin once said: "In order to be able to learn to swim one must learn to WALK in order to be able to go into the water. If a baby is thrown into the water, it will certainly get drowned." As an example, of course, is only an example and not a comparison, but the position is nevertheless such, that the young Communist party is not yet so firm on its feet that it could carry out this dangerous maneuver. WITHIN the petty bourgeois movement (or as the Pepper-Ruthenberg group would have it even within the third party) without getting drowned in this petty bourgeois whirlpool.

Regarding the question of losing contact with the masses, it is the task of the Workers Party to reject all collaboration with the LaFollette third party movement, but to do everything to maintain its contact with the masses of workers and farmers. Moreover, the situation is such that the party must above all first establish the REAL CONTACT with the MASSES OF THE WORKERS (especially in big industry) and poorest farmers and rural wage workers.

Comrades, here arises a great and important task for the Y. W. L. You, as well as the party must always bear in mind, that so far you have only an insignificant part of the masses of workers in your ranks, and that millions are still outside of the organized labor movement. You must not for a moment forget that the LEADING FORCE IN THIS STRUGGLE, which will transform the country of trusts into a country ruled by labor, will be the WORKING CLASS. The first task of the W. P. is to become a mass Communist party of workers. IT (THE W. P.) CAN FULFILL THIS TASK ONLY BY MOST ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LABOR PARTY, which will embrace all elements of the working class willing to conduct a policy independent of the capitalist class and by establishing a bond with the farmers who are at present in a state of strong fermentation. (Resolution of the commission)

Along with the establishment of a labor party on a broad class basis there must proceed the building up of the Communist party (as a mass party). YOU (the league) above all must participate in this work and see to it that the W. P. is being built up in such a manner as to be able to accomplish this task. In the discussion of the commission it became evident, that insufficient attention was paid to the most important question, i. e. the establishment of a mass Communist party, thru winning of the industrial workers in the shops, the establishment of shop nuclei, the work in the unions and so on. The party has not taken a clear stand at the last convention on the question of shop nuclei. The work within the trade unions was not fully satisfactory. "The conquest of the A. F. of L." and "amalgamation of the many different craft unions" is at the last instance a question of a much stronger economic and political propaganda among the masses in his industry. In the shops themselves, and of a systematic campaign of recruitment among the millions of unemployed. The establishment of the labor party and the building up of the Communist party can only be accomplished in the day-to-day political and

economic struggle. The work among the rural population (poorest farmers and wage workers belongs, of course, to the domain of the Workers Party, must be carried on on an increased scale above all among the rural wage workers and the poorest farmers. For the first named definite demands must be set up. In many cases your whole propaganda must always be based on concrete slogans; with the poorest farmers a bloc should be formed with the F. F. L. P. and with the other farmer elements, an alliance should be made when the occasion presents itself for a common struggle for definite demands. You should support the party to the fullest extent. In the question of the establishment of the labor party, as well as the building up of a Communist mass party, thru working among the masses of the industrial workers, the rural wage workers, and the poorest farmers, as well as among the masses of Negroes, a work which is of great importance in connection with the agrarian crisis. During the election campaign you should step forward with your own slogans of a political and economic nature, and utilize the electoral campaign in every respect for propagating your own slogans among the masses. During the election campaign you should carry on a particular energetic campaign against child labor, in such a manner as to draw broad masses into this struggle, i. e. by setting up concrete demands.

We intend at this time to content ourselves with explaining more precisely the meaning of the decision of the American Commission and to point out to you the great and difficult problems that stand before the Communist movement in America. We know, that the outcome of the discussion will surprise you in many respects. The party will be put in a rather awkward and difficult position by the findings of the commission, because it already went to far in the wrong direction on the question of the attitude towards the third party. The "retreat" will be somewhat difficult. It is even possible, that the "retreat" will result in a temporary isolation of the party, if the party does not understand how to maintain its contact with the disoriented masses of the city and country, thru increased propaganda among the masses of industrial workers, thru the day-to-day struggle on the political and economic field for concrete demands for the workers and farmers. The C. I. will make no mistake in this. It is better to turn away from a dangerous path in time (even at the risk of isolation for a certain period) instead of marching further along this dangerous path at the risk of losing the character of a Communist party, i. e. to submerge itself in the petty bourgeois swamp. A retreat at the right time is far better than a march into the void, as to the malicious joy of the opponents on the occasion of such retreats, one should not get disturbed. Comrade Lenin once wrote on such a situation in which the W. P. now finds itself, under the title of "As to the climbing of high mountains" the following: "Let us picture a man who is climbing a very high and steep mountain, which no far has never been conquered. Let us suppose, that after overcoming unheard-of difficulties and dangers, he has reached a point much higher than his predecessors, but that he has not reached the summit. He found himself in the position, where it became not only difficult and dangerous, but completely impossible to advance in the chosen direction, on the chosen path. He had to turn, climb down, search for new ways, which, though longer, were nevertheless such, that presented the possibility of reaching the summit. The climbing down in that world of heretofore uncharted heights, in which our wanderer finds himself, is perhaps accompanied by greater dangers and difficulties than the climbing up: one can lose the foothold more easily. It is much more uncomfortable to look for a place upon which to set the foot, the "aid feeling" of getting ever near to the summit which is being provoked by the climbing up is absent and so on...."

(Continued on page 4.)

(Continued on page 4.)

ing these masses. In principle the Communist Party does not only not reject an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, but, as have done the Russian Bolsheviks, it is ready to make an alliance for the common struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie, with the petty-bourgeois parties when they pursue a revolutionary mass policy. The LaFollette movement, however, has not decided to really break with the capitalist class and the capitalist party. An alliance with the LaFollette movement would not serve the liberation of the petty-bourgeois masses from domination by capital. This can be reached only through the deepest criticism of the policies of politicians like LaFollette and Magnus Johnson, thus endeavoring simultaneously to create an alliance with such elements of

the United States. We also point out other countries to prove this contention, to the effect that the "radical" and "socialist" petty bourgeois elements in France, Germany, Italy, etc., have not only not broken with the capitalist class, but have even entered into an alliance with it. It is therefore very important, that we leave no illusions in the masses in regard to these petty bourgeois parties (as for instance the third party) and that we do not confuse these masses with slogans which they do not understand. It is absolutely necessary, that the W. P. at all times step forward with a clear class program, that it draws a clear line of demarcation between itself and the indistinct petty bourgeois ideology of the LaFollette group which decreases its demands in radical-liberal phrasology. The "going along" with the masses, without setting up such clear points, as contained in the declaration, would be very dangerous, so much the more as the W. P. numerically still a weak party, carry only recently emerged from an illegal sect into the open, still has a weak Communist nucleus, while the number of Marxist-Leninist forces are still insufficient to be able to get hold of and maintain the leadership within this petty bourgeois movement. It is true, as was pointed out in the discussion, that "in order to learn to swim one has to go into the water." But it is just as true as Lenin once said: "In order to be able to learn to swim one must learn to WALK in order to be able to go into the water. If a baby is thrown into the water, it will certainly get drowned." As an example, of course, is only an example and not a comparison, but the position is nevertheless such, that the young Communist party is not yet so firm on its feet that it could carry out this dangerous maneuver. WITHIN the petty bourgeois movement (or as the Pepper-Ruthenberg group would have it even within the third party) without getting drowned in this petty bourgeois whirlpool.

Regarding the question of losing contact with the masses, it is the task of the Workers Party to reject all collaboration with the LaFollette third party movement, but to do everything to maintain its contact with the masses of workers and farmers. Moreover, the situation is such that the party must above all first establish the REAL CONTACT with the MASSES OF THE WORKERS (especially in big industry) and poorest farmers and rural wage workers.

Comrades, here arises a great and important task for the Y. W. L. You, as well as the party must always bear in mind, that so far you have only an insignificant part of the masses of workers in your ranks, and that millions are still outside of the organized labor movement. You must not for a moment forget that the LEADING FORCE IN THIS STRUGGLE, which will transform the country of trusts into a country ruled by labor, will be the WORKING CLASS. The first task of the W. P. is to become a mass Communist party of workers. IT (THE W. P.) CAN FULFILL THIS TASK ONLY BY MOST ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LABOR PARTY, which will embrace all elements of the working class willing to conduct a policy independent of the capitalist class and by establishing a bond with the farmers who are at present in a state of strong fermentation. (Resolution of the commission)

Along with the establishment of a labor party on a broad class basis there must proceed the building up of the Communist party (as a mass party). YOU (the league) above all must participate in this work and see to it that the W. P. is being built up in such a manner as to be able to accomplish this task. In the discussion of the commission it became evident, that insufficient attention was paid to the most important question, i. e. the establishment of a mass Communist party, thru winning of the industrial workers in the shops, the establishment of shop nuclei, the work in the unions and so on. The party has not taken a clear stand at the last convention on the question of shop nuclei. The work within the trade unions was not fully satisfactory. "The conquest of the A. F. of L." and "amalgamation of the many different craft unions" is at the last instance a question of a much stronger economic and political propaganda among the masses in his industry. In the shops themselves, and of a systematic campaign of recruitment among the millions of unemployed. The establishment of the labor party and the building up of the Communist party can only be accomplished in the day-to-day political and

economic struggle. The work among the rural population (poorest farmers and wage workers belongs, of course, to the domain of the Workers Party, must be carried on on an increased scale above all among the rural wage workers and the poorest farmers. For the first named definite demands must be set up. In many cases your whole propaganda must always be based on concrete slogans; with the poorest farmers a bloc should be formed with the F. F. L. P. and with the other farmer elements, an alliance should be made when the occasion presents itself for a common struggle for definite demands. You should support the party to the fullest extent. In the question of the establishment of the labor party, as well as the building up of a Communist mass party, thru working among the masses of the industrial workers, the rural wage workers, and the poorest farmers, as well as among the masses of Negroes, a work which is of great importance in connection with the agrarian crisis. During the election campaign you should step forward with your own slogans of a political and economic nature, and utilize the electoral campaign in every respect for propagating your own slogans among the masses. During the election campaign you should carry on a particular energetic campaign against child labor, in such a manner as to draw broad masses into this struggle, i. e. by setting up concrete demands.

We intend at this time to content ourselves with explaining more precisely the meaning of the decision of the American Commission and to point out to you the great and difficult problems that stand before the Communist movement in America. We know, that the outcome of the discussion will surprise you in many respects. The party will be put in a rather awkward and difficult position by the findings of the commission, because it already went to far in the wrong direction on the question of the attitude towards the third party. The "retreat" will be somewhat difficult. It is even possible, that the "retreat" will result in a temporary isolation of the party, if the party does not understand how to maintain its contact with the disoriented masses of the city and country, thru increased propaganda among the masses of industrial workers, thru the day-to-day struggle on the political and economic field for concrete demands for the workers and farmers. The C. I. will make no mistake in this. It is better to turn away from a dangerous path in time (even at the risk of isolation for a certain period) instead of marching further along this dangerous path at the risk of losing the character of a Communist party, i. e. to submerge itself in the petty bourgeois swamp. A retreat at the right time is far better than a march into the void, as to the malicious joy of the opponents on the occasion of such retreats, one should not get disturbed. Comrade Lenin once wrote on such a situation in which the W. P. now finds itself, under the title of "As to the climbing of high mountains" the following: "Let us picture a man who is climbing a very high and steep mountain, which no far has never been conquered. Let us suppose, that after overcoming unheard-of difficulties and dangers, he has reached a point much higher than his predecessors, but that he has not reached the summit. He found himself in the position, where it became not only difficult and dangerous, but completely impossible to advance in the chosen direction, on the chosen path. He had to turn, climb down, search for new ways, which, though longer, were nevertheless such, that presented the possibility of reaching the summit. The climbing down in that world of heretofore uncharted heights, in which our wanderer finds himself, is perhaps accompanied by greater dangers and difficulties than the climbing up: one can lose the foothold more easily. It is much more uncomfortable to look for a place upon which to set the foot, the "aid feeling" of getting ever near to the summit which is being provoked by the climbing up is absent and so on...."

(Continued on page 4.)

(Continued on page 4.)

ing these masses. In principle the Communist Party does not only not reject an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, but, as have done the Russian Bolsheviks, it is ready to make an alliance for the common struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie, with the petty-bourgeois parties when they pursue a revolutionary mass policy. The LaFollette movement, however, has not decided to really break with the capitalist class and the capitalist party. An alliance with the LaFollette movement would not serve the liberation of the petty-bourgeois masses from domination by capital. This can be reached only through the deepest criticism of the policies of politicians like LaFollette and Magnus Johnson, thus endeavoring simultaneously to create an alliance with such elements of

the United States. We also point out other countries to prove this contention, to the effect that the "radical" and "socialist" petty bourgeois elements in France, Germany, Italy, etc., have not only not broken with the capitalist class, but have even entered into an alliance with it. It is therefore very important, that we leave no illusions in the masses in regard to these petty bourgeois parties (as for instance the third party) and that we do not confuse these masses with slogans which they do not understand. It is absolutely necessary, that the W. P. at all times step forward with a clear class program, that it draws a clear line of demarcation between itself and the indistinct petty bourgeois ideology of the LaFollette group which decreases its demands in radical-liberal phrasology. The "going along" with the masses, without setting up such clear points, as contained in the declaration, would be very dangerous, so much the more as the W. P. numerically still a weak party, carry only recently emerged from an illegal sect into the open, still has a weak Communist nucleus, while the number of Marxist-Leninist forces are still insufficient to be able to get hold of and maintain the leadership within this petty bourgeois movement. It is true, as was pointed out in the discussion, that "in order to learn to swim one has to go into the water." But it is just as true as Lenin once said: "In order to be able to learn to swim one must learn to WALK in order to be able to go into the water. If a baby is thrown into the water, it will certainly get drowned." As an example, of course, is only an example and not a comparison, but the position is nevertheless such, that the young Communist party is not yet so firm on its feet that it could carry out this dangerous maneuver. WITHIN the petty bourgeois movement (or as the Pepper-Ruthenberg group would have it even within the third party) without getting drowned in this petty bourgeois whirlpool.

Regarding the question of losing contact with the masses, it is the task of the Workers Party to reject all collaboration with the LaFollette third party movement, but to do everything to maintain its contact with the masses of workers and farmers. Moreover, the situation is such that the party must above all first establish the REAL CONTACT with the MASSES OF THE WORKERS (especially in big industry) and poorest farmers and rural wage workers.

Comrades, here arises a great and important task for the Y. W. L. You, as well as the party must always bear in mind, that so far you have only an insignificant part of the masses of workers in your ranks, and that millions are still outside of the organized labor movement. You must not for a moment forget that the LEADING FORCE IN THIS STRUGGLE, which will transform the country of trusts into a country ruled by labor, will be the WORKING CLASS. The first task of the W. P. is to become a mass Communist party of workers. IT (THE W. P.) CAN FULFILL THIS TASK ONLY BY MOST ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LABOR PARTY, which will embrace all elements of the working class willing to conduct a policy independent of the capitalist class and by establishing a bond with the farmers who are at present in a state of strong fermentation. (Resolution of the commission)

Along with the establishment of a labor party on a broad class basis there must proceed the building up of the Communist party (as a mass party). YOU (the league) above all must participate in this work and see to it that the W. P. is being built up in such a manner as to be able to accomplish this task. In the discussion of the commission it became evident, that insufficient attention was paid to the most important question, i. e. the establishment of a mass Communist party, thru winning of the industrial workers in the shops, the establishment of shop nuclei, the work in the unions and so on. The party has not taken a clear stand at the last convention on the question of shop nuclei. The work within the trade unions was not fully satisfactory. "The conquest of the A. F. of L." and "amalgamation of the many different craft unions" is at the last instance a question of a much stronger economic and political propaganda among the masses in his industry. In the shops themselves, and of a systematic campaign of recruitment among the millions of unemployed. The establishment of the labor party and the building up of the Communist party can only be accomplished in the day-to-day political and

economic struggle. The work among the rural population (poorest farmers and wage workers belongs, of course, to the domain of the Workers Party, must be carried on on an increased scale above all among the rural wage workers and the poorest farmers. For the first named definite demands must be set up. In many cases your whole propaganda must always be based on concrete slogans; with the poorest farmers a bloc should be formed with the F. F. L. P. and with the other farmer elements, an alliance should be made when the occasion presents itself for a common struggle for definite demands. You should support the party to the fullest extent. In the question of the establishment of the labor party, as well as the building up of a Communist mass party, thru working among the masses of the industrial workers, the rural wage workers, and the poorest farmers, as well as among the masses of Negroes, a work which is of great importance in connection with the agrarian crisis. During the election campaign you should step forward with your own slogans of a political and economic nature, and utilize the electoral campaign in every respect for propagating your own slogans among the masses. During the election campaign you should carry on a particular energetic campaign against child labor, in such a manner as to draw broad masses into this struggle, i. e. by setting up concrete demands.

We intend at this time to content ourselves with explaining more precisely the meaning of the decision of the American Commission and to point out to you the great and difficult problems that stand before the Communist movement in America. We know, that the outcome of the discussion will surprise you in many respects. The party will be put in a rather awkward and difficult position by the findings of the commission, because it already went to far in the wrong direction on the question of the attitude towards the third party. The "retreat" will be somewhat difficult. It is even possible, that the "retreat" will result in a temporary isolation of the party, if the party does not understand how to maintain its contact with the disoriented masses of the city and country, thru increased propaganda among the masses of industrial workers, thru the day-to-day struggle on the political and economic field for concrete demands for the workers and farmers. The C. I. will make no mistake in this. It is better to turn away from a dangerous path in time (even at the risk of isolation for a certain period) instead of marching further along this dangerous path at the risk of losing the character of a Communist party, i. e. to submerge itself in the petty bourgeois swamp. A retreat at the right time is far better than a march into the void, as to the malicious joy of the opponents on the occasion of such retreats, one should not get disturbed. Comrade Lenin once wrote on such a situation in which the W. P. now finds itself, under the title of "As to the climbing of high mountains" the following: "Let us picture a man who is climbing a very high and steep mountain, which no far has never been conquered. Let us suppose, that after overcoming unheard-of difficulties and dangers, he has reached a point much higher than his predecessors, but that he has not reached the summit. He found himself in the position, where it became not only difficult and dangerous, but completely impossible to advance in the chosen direction, on the chosen path. He had to turn, climb down, search for new ways, which, though longer, were nevertheless such, that presented the possibility of reaching the summit. The climbing down in that world of heretofore uncharted heights, in which our wanderer finds himself, is perhaps accompanied by greater dangers and difficulties than the climbing up: one can lose the foothold more easily. It is much more uncomfortable to look for a place upon which to set the foot, the "aid feeling" of getting ever near to the summit which is being provoked by the climbing up is absent and so on...."

(Continued on page 4.)

(Continued on page 4.)

ing these masses. In principle the Communist Party does not only not reject an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, but, as have done the Russian Bolsheviks, it is ready to make an alliance for the common struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie, with the petty-bourgeois parties when they pursue a revolutionary mass policy. The LaFollette movement, however, has not decided to really break with the capitalist class and the capitalist party. An alliance with the LaFollette movement would not serve the liberation of the petty-bourgeois masses from domination by capital. This can be reached only through the deepest criticism of the policies of politicians like LaFollette and Magnus Johnson, thus endeavoring simultaneously to create an alliance with such elements of

the United States. We also point out other countries to prove this contention, to the effect that the "radical" and "socialist" petty bourgeois elements in France, Germany, Italy, etc., have not only not broken with the capitalist class, but have even entered into an alliance with it. It is therefore very important, that we leave no illusions in the masses in regard to these petty bourgeois parties (as for instance the third party) and that we do not confuse these masses with slogans which they do not understand. It is absolutely necessary, that the W. P. at all times step forward with a clear class program, that it draws a clear line of demarcation between itself and the indistinct petty bourgeois ideology of the LaFollette group which decreases its demands in radical-liberal phrasology. The "going along" with the masses, without setting up such clear points, as contained in the declaration, would be very dangerous, so much the more as the W. P. numerically still a weak party, carry only recently emerged from an illegal sect into the open, still has a weak Communist nucleus, while the number of Marxist-Leninist forces are still insufficient to be able to get hold of and maintain the leadership within this petty bourgeois movement. It is true, as was pointed out in the discussion, that "in order to learn to swim one has to go into the water." But it is just as true as Lenin once said: "In order to be able to learn to swim one must learn to WALK in order to be able to go into the water. If a baby is thrown into the water, it will certainly get drowned." As an example, of course, is only an example and not a comparison, but the position is nevertheless such, that the young Communist party is not yet so firm on its feet that it could carry out this dangerous maneuver. WITHIN the petty bourgeois movement (or as the Pepper-Ruthenberg group would have it even within the third party) without getting drowned in this petty bourgeois whirlpool.

Regarding the question of losing contact with the masses, it is the task of the Workers Party to reject all collaboration with the LaFollette third party movement, but to do everything to maintain its contact with the masses of workers and farmers. Moreover, the situation is such that the party must above all first establish the REAL CONTACT with the MASSES OF THE WORKERS (especially in big industry) and poorest farmers and rural wage workers.

Comrades, here arises a great and important task for the Y. W. L. You, as well as the party must always bear in mind, that so far you have only an insignificant part of the masses of workers in your ranks, and that millions are still outside of the organized labor movement. You must not for a moment forget that the LEADING FORCE IN THIS STRUGGLE, which will transform the country of trusts into a country ruled by labor, will be the WORKING CLASS. The first task of the W. P. is to become a mass Communist party of workers. IT (THE W. P.) CAN FULFILL THIS TASK ONLY BY MOST ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LABOR PARTY, which will embrace all elements of the working class willing to conduct a policy independent of the capitalist class and by establishing a bond with the farmers who are at present in a state of strong fermentation. (Resolution of the commission)

Along with the establishment of a labor party on a broad class basis there must proceed the building up of the Communist party (as a mass party). YOU (the league) above all must participate in this work and see to it that the W. P. is being built up in such a manner as to be able to accomplish this task. In the discussion of the commission it became evident, that insufficient attention was paid to the most important question, i. e. the establishment of a mass Communist party, thru winning of the industrial workers in the shops, the establishment of shop nuclei, the work in the unions and so on. The party has not taken a clear stand at the last convention on the question of shop nuclei. The work within the trade unions was not fully satisfactory. "The conquest of the A. F. of L." and "amalgamation of the many different craft unions" is at the last instance a question of a much stronger economic and political propaganda among the masses in his industry. In the shops themselves, and of a systematic campaign of recruitment among the millions of unemployed. The establishment of the labor party and the building up of the Communist party can only be accomplished in the day-to-day political and

economic struggle. The work among the rural population (poorest farmers and wage workers belongs, of course, to the domain of the Workers Party, must be carried on on an increased scale above all among the rural wage workers and the poorest farmers. For the first named definite demands must be set up. In many cases your whole propaganda must always be based on concrete slogans; with the poorest farmers a bloc should be formed with the F. F. L. P. and with the other farmer elements, an alliance should be made when the occasion presents itself for a common struggle for definite demands. You should support the party to the fullest extent. In the question of the establishment of the labor party, as well as the building up of a Communist mass party, thru working among the masses of the industrial workers, the rural wage workers, and the poorest farmers, as well as among the masses of Negroes, a work which is of great importance in connection with the agrarian crisis. During the election campaign you should step forward with your own slogans of a political and economic nature, and utilize the electoral campaign in every respect for propagating your own slogans among the masses. During the election campaign you should carry on a particular energetic campaign against child labor, in such a manner as to draw broad masses into this struggle, i. e. by setting up concrete demands.

The Program of the Trade Union Educational League

General Policies.

REVOLUTIONARY GOAL. At all times and in all its campaigns and publications, the League shall emphasize the revolutionary aims of the left wing. It shall carry on a ceaseless warfare against the bourgeois ideology and organizations. It shall seek to destroy the workers' faith in the capitalist system and to turn their eyes towards the establishment of a Communist society through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

b. Wages, hours and working conditions. In all movements of the workers to improve their standards of living or to resist attack upon the same by the employer, the League shall take an active part. In each case it must develop a complete program of its own and popularize this against all other programs. The League shall carry on an intensive campaign for the shortening of the labor hours, increasing of wages, improving working conditions, and it shall stimulate the workers, both organized and unorganized, to conduct an effective struggle against exploitation. In the coming industrial crisis in the United States, the League must raise throughout the labor movement, the slogan of "No reduction in wages and no lengthening of the working hours."

c. Organize the Unorganized. The campaign must be pushed with unremitting energy, because the organization of the unorganized is one of the supreme tasks confronting the working class as a whole and the left wing movement as representing the real interests of the working class. "Organize the Unorganized" is not a temporary slogan that may be cast aside when industrial depression sets in. It must be continued constantly in good and bad times, until the masses are organized. In periods of prosperity this slogan builds the union and during the industrial depressions it holds them together. The campaigns should take the following general forms:

1. To stimulate the A. F. of L. unions to take in the unorganized.
2. To build up the present independent mass unions.
3. To support the foundation of new unions wherever practical by utilizing the Workers' Party Industrial nuclei, local branches of the League, shop committees, and such other connections as can be made use of. No one of these methods should be used to the exclusion of the others. All must be employed as expediency dictates. Every means must be utilized to create mass organizations. Special attention must be given to the organization of the agricultural laborers.

d. Labor Party. The League shall take an active part in the building of the labor party. This movement not only teaches the workers their first lesson in class political action, but it also furnishes a favorable ground for the left wing to fight the trade union bureaucracy and to bring about trade union progress generally. The League must take full advantage of the favorable situation created by the labor party movement.

e. Unemployment. In the industrial crisis now developing in the United States and Canada, the League shall take an active part in organizing the unemployed into national and local councils, and other necessary formations. Whenever possible, these bodies shall work in close cooperation with the trade unions. The League shall stir up the trade unions everywhere to interest themselves in the question of unemployment. However, when the trade unions are unwilling to take up the organizing of the unemployed, or whenever they offer a resistance, the League shall create unemployed councils, etc., and carry on the work of the unemployed independently. It shall demand that the employers and the government should provide work and funds amounting to full maintenance of the workers. It shall also demand that the unions themselves share their funds and work with those of their members who are unemployed.

f. Amalgamation. The amalgamation campaign is not a temporary one to be abandoned in periods of industrial depression; it must be continued relentlessly and until the various craft unions are consolidated into industrial unions. Organization by industry instead of by craft, is a burning need of the workers in good times and bad. Under the flag of autonomy small unions and federations continue their miserable existence, having neither the strength nor the means to fight against capitalism, and yet refusing to amalgamate with kindred trades. A vigorous struggle should be carried on for the creation of centralized industrial organizations. It is necessary to strive towards concentration of the means and methods of struggle for a national utilization of all the forces of the working class. The independent unions shall also be included in the League's amalgamation program. In conjunction with the amalgamation plan the unions affiliated with the United Labor Council shall carry on an active campaign for admission as a bloc to the A. F. of L. unions in the same industry and the council itself shall co-ordinate the activities of its unions in this direction.

g. The United Front. The T. U. E. L. shall pursue the policy of the United Front. It shall seek to unite all the workers for revolutionary action along class lines. The United Front shall not consist of alliances or blocs with trade union bureaucrats—though some of them may be dealt with under favorable circumstances—but it shall be based upon a common understanding, unity and action, of the rank and file of the labor organizations involved in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The United Front shall not be conceived as an aim in itself, but as a means to win the masses away from the reactionary leaders and to unite them upon the basis of a revolutionary program and action.

h. Exposure of Bureaucracy. The League shall make a special point of exposing the corruption of the trade union leaders. For this purpose a pamphlet shall be issued exposing in detail the crimes of the trade union leaders against the rank and file of the unions and the whole working class. This policy of exposure shall be carried on vigorously in all the League's publications.

i. Recognition of Soviet Russia. The League campaign for the full commercial and diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia shall be intensified; the recognition of Russia by England, Italy, and other countries, makes this campaign the more timely and effective in the United States.

j. Negro Workers. The problem of the politically and industrially disfranchised Negroes shall occupy the serious attention of the League. The League shall demand that the Negroes be given the same social, political and industrial rights as whites, including the right to work in all trades, equal wages, admission into trade unions, abolition of Jim Crow cars, restaurants, etc. The League shall issue a special pamphlet dealing with the Negro workers.

k. Injunctions. The League shall take the lead in the fight of the American working class against the injunction. Whenever and wherever an injunction is issued by the courts against strikers, depriving them of their rights, the League shall endeavor to arouse the strikers and the trade union movement in general to mass violation of the injunction.

l. Expulsions. The League shall continue the present policy in case of expulsions from the trade unions. Wherever the expelled workers are few in number they shall be kept in the local leagues and in close connection with the National Industrial Committee. But where they are great in number, they shall be formed into unions of the expelled. These expelled members shall endeavor to fight their way back into the old organizations.

m. Shop Committees. The League shall carry on active propaganda in favor of the organization of shop committees in the industries generally.

n. Industrial Affiliations. The League shall intensify its campaigns for the affiliation of the trade unions to the R. I. L. U. Capitalism is international, and labor must internationally resist the assaults of the world-wide capitalist class. This must be driven which as yet has hardly acquired a home in the American working class, glimmering of the need for international solidarity and action of the working class. The League must point out the fallacy of the present policy of isolation and seek to bring the American workers into relationship with the workers in other countries. For this purpose, resolutions on the question of affiliation to the R. I. L. U. shall be presented in all trade union conventions.

o. Shop Committees. The League shall carry on active propaganda in favor of the organization of shop committees in the industries generally. These shop committees shall be elected by all employees of a given industrial establishment, irrespective of sex, color, nationality, skill, etc. The shop committees shall serve to unite all the workers in the various establishments, whether members of a union or not. The shop committees shall voice the demands of the workers and form the basis for a common struggle against capitalism. Whenever possible, such shop committees shall be utilized for the organization of the unorganized. The League shall strive to reorganize the old unions into industrial unions, based on shop committees.

p. Workers' Control. The League shall put forth the slogan of "workers' control of industry." The campaign for the establishment of shop committees shall be accompanied by a propaganda for the workers' control. The shop committees, working under the direction of the labor unions, shall aim to break the power of the employers in the industries. The shop committees shall demand and fight for the right to control the financial and technical sides of industry, to control the hiring and discharging of workers, to penetrate the financial and commercial secrets of the employer, to regulate the supply of raw materials and the distribution of finished products. They shall aim to revolutionize the masses and to turn their trade unions into fighting working class organizations. They shall strive to give the workers the necessary industrial and political education and organization to carry them in co-operation with the revolutionary party to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie for the establishment of a Communist society.

q. The Structure of the League. One of the most urgent problems confronting the League is to consolidate the existing revolutionary sentiment into concrete organization.

The League does not and must not have them established in all industrial districts.

r. The League Press. In addition to the Labor Herald, there shall be established bulletins for each national industrial committee and also for the four districts of the League. These bulletins must carry the full program of the League at all times. The industrial bulletins must devote an established section regularly for news from their respective International Propaganda Committee, and they must support the complete program of the R. I. L. U. The national office of the League shall issue a news service to furnish information on the League's activities to the press of the Workers' Party and the labor press. Each national industrial committee shall publish at least one pamphlet dealing with the problems of its industry. The League shall also publish a series of general pamphlets. In addition to these also here mentioned, there shall be pamphlet on the I. W. W., the Russian trade unions, the question of Canadian autonomy, Washington versus Moscow, etc. The Labor Herald shall publish the matter on the activities of the R. I. L. U., to be furnished by the latter.

s. Finance. The finance system of the League must accomplish the double task of furnishing the necessary funds for the League and consolidating the members into a definite organization. To this end there shall be organized a class struggle propaganda fund, independent of the League. Every member of the League should subscribe regular contributions to the fund. The contributions should be monthly. The utmost efforts must be made to develop the class struggle propaganda fund, and to enlist all possible subscribers as contributors to it. No one shall be considered a member of the League unless he contributes to the class struggle propaganda fund. Fifty per cent of this fund shall go to the national League, the other fifty percent

cent of this fund shall go to the national League, the other fifty percent shall be divided between the local industrial groups, the national industrial committees and the district industrial committees. In addition, the present system of raising funds by means of entertainment, sale of literature, donations, etc., shall be continued and intensified. The national and industrial committees shall devote particular attention to the securing of regular donations and special contributions from local unions within their sphere of influence. As funds as they are thus able to raise shall be at their own disposal to introduce individual contributions in connection with the class struggle propaganda fund.

t. Methods of Work. The Trade Union Educational League must never be allowed to come merely a propaganda. Above all, it must be a fighting organization. It must ever and always take the lead in the workers' struggles. It must emphasize the importance of direct action and to constantly throw over the masses of workers more and more against the employers and the capitalist state. In addition to being a fighting organization, the League must be a highly active, with a program varying every phase of the struggle. It must carry on a systematic and thorough propaganda campaign against the reactionary bureaucracy. For the League to content itself with action and content alone, however, would be a mistake as for it to ignore conditions altogether and to content entirely upon strikes. The two halves of work, in convention strikes, but go hand in hand, and must be combined. Every struggle must be utilized for the upbuilding of the League. In possible cases the League shall place candidates against the revision of the local and national union elections and use these elections to the state for propaganda purposes.

u. Relations of League to Independent Unions. The League recognizes the importance of the independent unions and shall remain in friendly and useful connections with them in the struggle.

v. Red International Committee. The formation and constitution of the Red International Committee, which serves as the connecting link between the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary party, is of the utmost importance. It is to be a campaign made by bringing all the available independent unions in the Revolutionary Committee and the United Labor Council of America. For this purpose a general conference shall be called of all the independent unions, either adhering to the R. I. L. U. or sympathetic to its program. This conference shall be held under the auspices direct or indirect, of the R. I. L. U. and the U. C. of A. The R. I. L. U. shall make up of independent unions and revolutionary workers, which shall have voting strength equal to the R. I. C. The R. I. C. shall map out a plan of militant campaign of action to include the organization of the unemployed, the organization of the unemployed, the amalgamation of the various unions, the development of the labor party movement, the affiliation of unions to the R. I. L. U., and the whole left wing program. The League shall be the foremost of the frontiers in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary union is the independent union affiliated to the proletarian shall be party and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.

w. Red International Amalgamation Committee. The formation of the Red International Amalgamation Committee, which work with the I. W. W. is of the utmost importance. The League shall be the foremost of the frontiers in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary union is the independent union affiliated to the proletarian shall be party and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.

x. Relations of the League with the Workers' Party. The political and economic struggle of the world class is inseparable. The League recognizes the fullness of carrying on the trade union work merely for itself. The chief aim of all its efforts shall be the building of the revolutionary mass political organization of the working class, the Workers' Party. To this end all the struggles of the workers shall be directed into political channels, and all the campaigns of the League for the Labor Party, amalgamation, etc., shall be utilized to strengthen the membership and leadership of the Workers' Party.

y. Build the League. The League recognizes the impossibility of its functioning effectively without the full and wholehearted support of the Workers' Party. To develop this support it shall carry on a campaign to bring all the working class members of the party into the League and let the League, to make them subscribers to the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, and to have each branch official of the Workers' Party hold responsible for the Workers' Party in its own district. The League shall function with other features of our rural work problem.

z. The League Press. In addition to the Labor Herald, there shall be established bulletins for each national industrial committee and also for the four districts of the League. These bulletins must carry the full program of the League at all times. The industrial bulletins must devote an established section regularly for news from their respective International Propaganda Committee, and they must support the complete program of the R. I. L. U. The national office of the League shall issue a news service to furnish information on the League's activities to the press of the Workers' Party and the labor press. Each national industrial committee shall publish at least one pamphlet dealing with the problems of its industry. The League shall also publish a series of general pamphlets. In addition to these also here mentioned, there shall be pamphlet on the I. W. W., the Russian trade unions, the question of Canadian autonomy, Washington versus Moscow, etc. The Labor Herald shall publish the matter on the activities of the R. I. L. U., to be furnished by the latter.

aa. Finance. The finance system of the League must accomplish the double task of furnishing the necessary funds for the League and consolidating the members into a definite organization. To this end there shall be organized a class struggle propaganda fund, independent of the League. Every member of the League should subscribe regular contributions to the fund. The contributions should be monthly. The utmost efforts must be made to develop the class struggle propaganda fund, and to enlist all possible subscribers as contributors to it. No one shall be considered a member of the League unless he contributes to the class struggle propaganda fund. Fifty per cent of this fund shall go to the national League, the other fifty percent

cent of this fund shall go to the national League, the other fifty percent shall be divided between the local industrial groups, the national industrial committees and the district industrial committees. In addition, the present system of raising funds by means of entertainment, sale of literature, donations, etc., shall be continued and intensified. The national and industrial committees shall devote particular attention to the securing of regular donations and special contributions from local unions within their sphere of influence. As funds as they are thus able to raise shall be at their own disposal to introduce individual contributions in connection with the class struggle propaganda fund.

bb. Methods of Work. The Trade Union Educational League must never be allowed to come merely a propaganda. Above all, it must be a fighting organization. It must ever and always take the lead in the workers' struggles. It must emphasize the importance of direct action and to constantly throw over the masses of workers more and more against the employers and the capitalist state. In addition to being a fighting organization, the League must be a highly active, with a program varying every phase of the struggle. It must carry on a systematic and thorough propaganda campaign against the reactionary bureaucracy. For the League to content itself with action and content alone, however, would be a mistake as for it to ignore conditions altogether and to content entirely upon strikes. The two halves of work, in convention strikes, but go hand in hand, and must be combined. Every struggle must be utilized for the upbuilding of the League. In possible cases the League shall place candidates against the revision of the local and national union elections and use these elections to the state for propaganda purposes.

cc. Relations of League to Independent Unions. The League recognizes the importance of the independent unions and shall remain in friendly and useful connections with them in the struggle.

dd. Red International Committee. The formation and constitution of the Red International Committee, which serves as the connecting link between the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary party, is of the utmost importance. It is to be a campaign made by bringing all the available independent unions in the Revolutionary Committee and the United Labor Council of America. For this purpose a general conference shall be called of all the independent unions, either adhering to the R. I. L. U. or sympathetic to its program. This conference shall be held under the auspices direct or indirect, of the R. I. L. U. and the U. C. of A. The R. I. L. U. shall make up of independent unions and revolutionary workers, which shall have voting strength equal to the R. I. C. The R. I. C. shall map out a plan of militant campaign of action to include the organization of the unemployed, the organization of the unemployed, the amalgamation of the various unions, the development of the labor party movement, the affiliation of unions to the R. I. L. U., and the whole left wing program. The League shall be the foremost of the frontiers in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary union is the independent union affiliated to the proletarian shall be party and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.

ee. Red International Amalgamation Committee. The formation of the Red International Amalgamation Committee, which work with the I. W. W. is of the utmost importance. The League shall be the foremost of the frontiers in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary union is the independent union affiliated to the proletarian shall be party and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.

ff. Relations of the League with the Workers' Party. The political and economic struggle of the world class is inseparable. The League recognizes the fullness of carrying on the trade union work merely for itself. The chief aim of all its efforts shall be the building of the revolutionary mass political organization of the working class, the Workers' Party. To this end all the struggles of the workers shall be directed into political channels, and all the campaigns of the League for the Labor Party, amalgamation, etc., shall be utilized to strengthen the membership and leadership of the Workers' Party.

gg. Build the League. The League recognizes the impossibility of its functioning effectively without the full and wholehearted support of the Workers' Party. To develop this support it shall carry on a campaign to bring all the working class members of the party into the League and let the League, to make them subscribers to the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, and to have each branch official of the Workers' Party hold responsible for the Workers' Party in its own district. The League shall function with other features of our rural work problem.

hh. The League Press. In addition to the Labor Herald, there shall be established bulletins for each national industrial committee and also for the four districts of the League. These bulletins must carry the full program of the League at all times. The industrial bulletins must devote an established section regularly for news from their respective International Propaganda Committee, and they must support the complete program of the R. I. L. U. The national office of the League shall issue a news service to furnish information on the League's activities to the press of the Workers' Party and the labor press. Each national industrial committee shall publish at least one pamphlet dealing with the problems of its industry. The League shall also publish a series of general pamphlets. In addition to these also here mentioned, there shall be pamphlet on the I. W. W., the Russian trade unions, the question of Canadian autonomy, Washington versus Moscow, etc. The Labor Herald shall publish the matter on the activities of the R. I. L. U., to be furnished by the latter.

ii. Finance. The finance system of the League must accomplish the double task of furnishing the necessary funds for the League and consolidating the members into a definite organization. To this end there shall be organized a class struggle propaganda fund, independent of the League. Every member of the League should subscribe regular contributions to the fund. The contributions should be monthly. The utmost efforts must be made to develop the class struggle propaganda fund, and to enlist all possible subscribers as contributors to it. No one shall be considered a member of the League unless he contributes to the class struggle propaganda fund. Fifty per cent of this fund shall go to the national League, the other fifty percent

cent of this fund shall go to the national League, the other fifty percent shall be divided between the local industrial groups, the national industrial committees and the district industrial committees. In addition, the present system of raising funds by means of entertainment, sale of literature, donations, etc., shall be continued and intensified. The national and industrial committees shall devote particular attention to the securing of regular donations and special contributions from local unions within their sphere of influence. As funds as they are thus able to raise shall be at their own disposal to introduce individual contributions in connection with the class struggle propaganda fund.

jj. Methods of Work. The Trade Union Educational League must never be allowed to come merely a propaganda. Above all, it must be a fighting organization. It must ever and always take the lead in the workers' struggles. It must emphasize the importance of direct action and to constantly throw over the masses of workers more and more against the employers and the capitalist state. In addition to being a fighting organization, the League must be a highly active, with a program varying every phase of the struggle. It must carry on a systematic and thorough propaganda campaign against the reactionary bureaucracy. For the League to content itself with action and content alone, however, would be a mistake as for it to ignore conditions altogether and to content entirely upon strikes. The two halves of work, in convention strikes, but go hand in hand, and must be combined. Every struggle must be utilized for the upbuilding of the League. In possible cases the League shall place candidates against the revision of the local and national union elections and use these elections to the state for propaganda purposes.

kk. Relations of League to Independent Unions. The League recognizes the importance of the independent unions and shall remain in friendly and useful connections with them in the struggle.

ll. Red International Committee. The formation and constitution of the Red International Committee, which serves as the connecting link between the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary party, is of the utmost importance. It is to be a campaign made by bringing all the available independent unions in the Revolutionary Committee and the United Labor Council of America. For this purpose a general conference shall be called of all the independent unions, either adhering to the R. I. L. U. or sympathetic to its program. This conference shall be held under the auspices direct or indirect, of the R. I. L. U. and the U. C. of A. The R. I. L. U. shall make up of independent unions and revolutionary workers, which shall have voting strength equal to the R. I. C. The R. I. C. shall map out a plan of militant campaign of action to include the organization of the unemployed, the organization of the unemployed, the amalgamation of the various unions, the development of the labor party movement, the affiliation of unions to the R. I. L. U., and the whole left wing program. The League shall be the foremost of the frontiers in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary union is the independent union affiliated to the proletarian shall be party and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.

mm. Red International Amalgamation Committee. The formation of the Red International Amalgamation Committee, which work with the I. W. W. is of the utmost importance. The League shall be the foremost of the frontiers in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary union is the independent union affiliated to the proletarian shall be party and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.

By Nat KAPLAN

THE Young Workers League of America will in the future pay more attention to the work among the rural youth. This field is of special importance at the present time, because: 1. The winning over of the rural workers to the left wing is in the country; the poor farmers and the neutralization of the middle farmer is a necessary condition for the success of the proletarian revolution, and 2. We are today faced with the favorable situation (an agrarian crisis and a political revolt of the agrarian masses) for making a start and systematically intensifying this work.

The Agrarian Crisis

Those who have at all glanced at the situation have not failed to observe the following characteristics of the farming industry in the last period: A big increase in land tenancy, bond indebtedness and farm mortgage indebtedness, etc., a sharp decline in farm implement production; large scale failures in farm banks and hit-herto unheard of farm bankruptcies; the migration of about 2,000,000 farmers to the industrial centers where they have become proletarianized. This unhealthy economic situation (for American capitalism) has given birth to a political upheaval among the rural masses—which looked at from the viewpoint of the proletarian revolution is very healthy indeed. This upheaval manifests itself in the disillusionment on the part of the poor farmers and agricultural wage workers in the two old bourgeois parties (Republican and Democrat) and even, to a large extent, a loss of confidence in the reformist farm bloc in Congress (Senators Capron, Johnson and Co., whose main slogan seems to be: "More credits for those farmers who can yet be stabilized") and the growing sentiment for joint action between the industrial workers and the poor farmers thru the creation of Farmer Labor Parties.

To assume that this state of affairs has created a fertile field for reaching the masses of the rural youth with a Communist program, by fighting for their immediate economic interests, is to assume sheer nonsense. We can have no place for such nonsense in the ranks of the young Communist movement. Of course in most cases, we would find that such assumptions are part of a regular tendency to underestimate the importance of our work on the land.

Our Immediate Tasks

This activity, like all others, will have to be centralized nationally. The N. E. C. will establish a "rural work" department which will immediately start to carry out the decisions of the 4th Congress of Y. C. I. on the work, in close connection with the C. E. C. of the Workers' Party. This should be duplicated in the districts and lower units. Some of the immediate tasks of the rural department will be:

(a) The creation of our organization in rural territory (nuclei and groups).

(b) The collection of material on the economic and cultural situation of the young workers on the land and the youth of the small farmers.

(c) The organization and leadership of various actions of the youth in the country and its district.

(d) The supply of material and literature for the organizations in the country.

In those places where we already have some connections with the rural youth (Minnesota-Michigan) practical work can already be carried on; viz., the agrarian comrades should be assigned the job of collecting material on the situation in their territory and various actions can be formulated on the basis of the existing conditions, etc.

Nationally the immediate task of the rural department will be to study the conditions peculiar to the land problem in the United States and to formulate programs of work on the basis of their findings. Let us roughly glance over some of these conditions.

A Shifting Peasantry

In the United States we cannot apply the formula of once a farmer, always a farmer. Farmers are changing hands continually and many farms are occupied by men who only recently took to farming. This is shown very clearly in the following table.

Total farmers in the United States classified by the number of years on farm.

Less than 1 year on farm 10.6 percent
1 year on farm 14.4 "
2 to 4 years on farm 17.4 "
5 to 9 years on farm 35.2 "
10 years and over on farm 32.4 "

A large percentage of the farmers migrate to the cities and there become proletarianized, while large numbers of industrial workers migrate to the country and become small proprietors or rural wage workers. When studying this situation the national

rural committee may discover that the cultural level of the rural youth in the United States is not a very high one, as is true of many other countries. Of course, even if this were proved, it would be foolish to exaggerate the situation. It would be far better to always adapt our propaganda, agitation and educational work to the land to the generally conceived special psychology of the rural youth—and be delightfully surprised in finding a more advanced class than to have the reverse take place. From An Organizational Viewpoint

We will first have to consider the following generalities. There are in the United States about 5,500,000 agricultural laborers. A large percentage are unorganized, while the I. W. W. has been instrumental in organizing about 11,000 of this element. There are also some skilled and unskilled unions for the rural wage workers for the large farms in the west (Producers of fruits, vegetable and nuts).

As a League, our first task will be to establish "initiative groups" for the purpose of getting connections in the country. These groups are composed of our country connections (where we have such) and the nearest town branch or nucleus. Above all, we should strive to have these initiative groups composed of comrades who come from the country, or at least are in continual connection with the country. It will be these initiative groups which will lay the basis for our organization in the rural territories.

According to the decisions of the 4th Congress of the Y. C. I., the organizational structure of the League in the country will be as follows:

"On the estates (large farms, etc.) where several young workers are working an estate nucleus must be formed, just as a shop nucleus in a factory.

In the villages where there are various small agricultural concerns in which only one, two or three young workers work, a village nucleus must be formed and of this the nucleus committee is the leading organ.

"The village nucleus takes in new members, keeps a record of the membership, attends to the payment of dues, etc.

"In such neighborhoods where the farms, etc., are very far, one from the other, several village nuclei should be built which come together into a district group. This group elects a committee for carrying on the work of all the nuclei in its district."

Since the I. W. W. is the only union of the agricultural workers the members of our villages and estate nuclei should join the I. W. W. and form a youth fraction within it. The League fraction within the I. W. W. should fight within the union for the interests of the rural youth and also for the program of the R. I. L. U. in relation to the I. W. W. (Affiliation to R. I. L. U., etc.).

In the far west our national land department will be faced with very interesting organizational problem. If we form an estate nucleus on any of the large fruit, vegetable or nut ranches it will very likely become a traveling nucleus, because the agricultural workers in this section are migratory. They follow the harvest north and south along the Pacific coast states. Immediately it would seem that the only way out of this difficulty is to get the members of such nuclei to pledge themselves to seek new harvests collectively. Thus the nucleus can be kept intact, although shifting from estate to estate. The Pacific coast leagues will have to assign the job of collecting all the available material on this situation and reporting same to the national rural department.

The land of fruits and nuts is a very fertile field for establishing the closest of ties between the rural and the industrial youth. Many of the fruit and vegetable ranches have interlocking canneries. The best description of this situation is contained in the advertising slogan of the Del Monte canneries: "Canned where it is picked." In places of this character it is necessary to fight for the slogan of "Cannery workers and ranch workers in the same union." Besides our regular economic demands for the young ranch and cannery workers. We should also form our youth fractions within the skilled and unskilled workers unions and seek to eradicate the difference between the two. I do not intend to deal in this article with our rural youth demands, but it must be mentioned in passing that a minimum important one will be: "A minimum wage based on the existence minimum," because farm wages besides being below the existence minimum are on the decrease as can be seen from the following table. In considering the table it should be remembered that the young agricultural wage workers are even lower paid than the adult agricultural workers.

Farm Wages are Dropping in the U. S.

Hire by Month

With Without

Board Board

1921 \$30.14 \$13.22 \$2.34 \$2.79

1922 \$27.81 \$10.30 \$1.47 \$1.69

U. S. Department of Agriculture

Crop and Market Bulletin May 17, 1922.

The above table at least proves to us that the agricultural workers are not part of the well known aristocracy of labor and will make real live recruits for the Communist (Workers' Party and Young Workers (Communist) League. In America, the proletarian revolution can only be achieved by winning over this elements to our ranks and by perfecting an alliance with the poor and exploited peasantry—the "good old" American dirt farmer. In my next article I will try to deal with other features of our rural work problem.

By Nat KAPLAN

THE Young Workers League of America will in the future pay more attention to the work among the rural youth. This field is of special importance at the present time, because: 1. The winning over of the rural workers to the left wing is in the country; the poor farmers and the neutralization of the middle farmer is a necessary condition for the success of the proletarian revolution, and 2. We are today faced with the favorable situation (an agrarian crisis and a political revolt of the agrarian masses) for making a start and systematically intensifying this work.

The Agrarian Crisis

Those who have at all glanced at the situation have not failed to observe the following characteristics of the farming industry in the last period: A big increase in land tenancy, bond indebtedness and farm mortgage indebtedness, etc., a sharp decline in farm implement production; large scale failures in farm banks and hit-herto unheard of farm bankruptcies; the migration of about 2,000,000 farmers to the industrial centers where they have become proletarianized. This unhealthy economic situation (for American capitalism) has given birth to a political upheaval among the rural masses—which looked at from the viewpoint of the proletarian revolution is very healthy indeed. This upheaval manifests itself in the disillusionment on the part of the poor farmers and agricultural wage workers in the two old bourgeois parties (Republican and Democrat) and even, to a large extent, a loss of confidence in the reformist farm bloc in Congress (Senators Capron, Johnson and Co., whose main slogan seems to be: "More credits for those farmers who can yet be stabilized") and the growing sentiment for joint action between the industrial workers and the poor farmers thru the creation of Farmer Labor Parties.

To assume that this state of affairs has created a fertile field for reaching the masses of the rural youth with a Communist program, by fighting for their immediate economic interests, is to assume sheer nonsense. We can have no place for such nonsense in the ranks of the young Communist movement. Of course in most cases, we would find that such assumptions are part of a regular tendency to underestimate the importance of our work on the land.

Our Immediate Tasks

This activity, like all others, will have to be centralized nationally. The N. E. C. will establish a "rural work" department which will immediately start to carry out the decisions of the 4th Congress of Y. C. I. on the work, in close connection with the C. E. C. of the Workers' Party. This should be duplicated in the districts and lower units. Some of the immediate tasks of the rural department will be:

(a) The creation of our organization in rural territory (nuclei and groups).

(b) The collection of material on the economic and cultural situation of the young workers on the land and the youth of the small farmers.

(c) The organization and leadership of various actions of the youth in the country and its district.

(d) The supply of material and literature for the organizations in the country.

In those places where we already have some connections with the rural youth (Minnesota-Michigan) practical work can already be carried on; viz., the agrarian comrades should be assigned the job of collecting material on the situation in their territory and various actions can be formulated on the basis of the existing conditions, etc.

Nationally the immediate task of the rural department will be to study the conditions peculiar to the land problem in the United States and to formulate programs of work on the basis of their findings. Let us roughly glance over some of these conditions.

A Shifting Peasantry

In the United States we cannot apply the formula of once

Program of Action For the Y. W. L.

INTRODUCTION.

CONDITIONS generally, social, political and economic, indicate that the objective features necessary for the development of a strong and vibrant Young Workers' League are at hand. And in the light of these factors it becomes necessary, more than ever before, for our movement to take stock of its own forces, to consider where the soil is most fertile for winning new forces directly into our ranks or drawing under our influence, to determine what particular features of our mass-aided activities must be stressed above all others—and in general to outline on the basis of the facts arrived at a plan of work covering the months intervening between now and the next national convention, so that we can carefully check up on the rate of development with every month that goes by, so that we can the more readily determine where and why we succeed in certain districts or in certain lines of activity while in others we succeed only partially.

With the publication of this outline, the N. E. C. expects and demands that every district and city branch unit get to work to accomplish its share in the fulfillment of this plan. Every subordinate unit must make an outline of its work, based upon that of our national organization, and see to it that every member does his bit to put it over. Political and Economic Situation.

The workers of the United States, the politically still very backward, are nevertheless showing unmistakable signs of an awakening. The agitation for a labor party, or for farmer-labor parties in almost all sections of the country, confused though it has been, nevertheless is one of the unmistakable signs that a political consciousness is in growth. The C. P. A., dominated as it is by labor factors who have no interest in the labor movement save making it the means whereby they can rise to power and wealth, and the present La Follette party (if such it can be called) bears out the previous facts. The La Follette movement is not in any sense of the word a labor party such as that of Britain. Nor do its leaders intend to allow it to become such. But large numbers of organized workers think that that is what it is or at least, that is what it is developing into.

For the first time, the Communist (Workers) Party is joining in the election campaigns on a national scale.

Unemployment is slowly but surely developing all over the country. In two of the basic industries—coal and iron, and in the textile industry—it has already made heavy inroads, with small prospects of its alleviation. In the mining industry in particular, we see a deliberate plan being pursued by the mine owners, who are abandoning the unworked fields as much as possible and instead, opening up those which lie in territory still unorganized. All of the above factors demand of the Y. W. L. that it increase its political activity that it work in even closer co-operation with the Workers' Party than heretofore, that it school its membership to think and act so that every action of the league is an action that will aid in crystallizing political class consciousness amongst the masses of the young workers, that we concentrate upon increasing our membership, prestige and activity particularly among the miners, and in the second place, among the iron and steel workers, that we realize the importance of the developing unemployment crisis and take due steps to get movements under way to meet this crisis.

Four Tasks.

But the tasks of the league in these directions can be accomplished only if, (1) we organize our forces directly in the shops, i. e., form shop nuclei; (2) increase the discipline from highest to lowest unit; (3) work in an organized fashion; and (4) pass out from the league all members who are over 25 years of age and draw into activity those who are below that age.

Besides this we propose concentrating upon the following fields and along the following lines. It must be understood that all other forms of activity not touched by this outline are to be continued in the usual fashion.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORK

THE Workers' Party method of industrial registrations must be inaugurated immediately, with slight modifications, so as to give us an efficient basis to proceed with our campaigns and reorganization.

The first campaign that must be launched is in the mining industry, to continue for about three months. The first step will be the procuring of the union understanding of the company prevailing in the industry, so that the campaign can proceed well through the three different stages: 1. Agricultural; 2. organizational; 3. formation of mine nuclei.

In the first stage, the information on conditions in the mining fields secured by us thru our connections will be featured in the Young Worker and the DAILY WORKER, as well as all other publications that can be utilized for this purpose. Simultaneous with this drive comes the task of stimulating interest in the membership outside of this particular industry. In the second stage, the slogans will be based, based on the information gathered. Getting the support of the union those attention will be called to our campaign and party members, under the supervision of the industrial committee of the N. E. C. Sentiment favorable to the league and its program must be crystallized by addressing

miners educational meetings, local union meetings, propaganda meetings and so forth. In the last stage, the league will play an even more prominent role. The organization of mine nuclei will then be the task to carry out, and we will exploit all the possibilities in this field for the direct benefit of the league.

Organizational Procedure. 1. Letters will be sent to all nuclei in the mining field acquainting them with the campaign. 2. A questionnaire asking for information on wages, hours of work, conditions, interesting pursuits of the miners during their leisure hours, etc., will be sent to all connections in the industry. This information will be published for use in the campaign. 3. Young miners will be appealed to for contributions to the "On the Job" column. 4. After the campaign is well under way, a special pamphlet on the drive will be published. 5. A research committee, consisting of Gannes, Edwards, Carver and Shachtman, will gather all necessary data. 6. Wherever possible, organizers will be sent into the field to intensify the work, to be aided, when the preliminary stages of the campaign have passed, by special miners' editions of The Young Worker.

The Nebisco Campaign. While specializing and developing one national campaign, it becomes necessary to lay the ground work for another campaign as an auxiliary drive. This policy will be followed permanently.

Thus, at the present time, out of 17 leagues located in cities where plants of the National Biscuit Company exist, even are participating in the drive, and the campaign is gradually assuming a national character. We must now accomplish the following in this particular part of our work: 1. Making leagues in all other cities where N. B. C. plants are located get into the campaign. 2. These leagues shall order definite quotas of The Young Worker for systematic distribution at the factory gate. 3. The issuance of a special pamphlet containing all the propaganda, educational and programmatic material gathered since the beginning of the campaign. 4. The calling of meetings of all these young workers whose names have been secured in the course of the campaign for the purpose of establishing shop nuclei; and where shop nuclei cannot be formed, shop committees should be the temporary unit established. The nuclei must propagate our demands and get the other young workers interested in a fight against conditions that would be possible to abolish, such as the demand for clean aprons, reductions in prices in the cafeterias, etc. Later our demands become more revolutionary in nature, as the nuclei grow in strength. 5. Publicity on the activity of the various units will be given regularly in the DAILY WORKER and The Young Worker. Meetings in front of the factory gates will, naturally, continue.

District and Local Campaigns.

A great proportion of our membership is employed in the clothing industry. In the East and in Chicago we find that campaigns carried on against the various clothing factories would not have numerous comrades already employed in them. These campaigns will be worked out simultaneously crystallizing political class consciousness amongst the masses of the young workers, that we concentrate upon increasing our membership, prestige and activity particularly among the miners, and in the second place, among the iron and steel workers, that we realize the importance of the developing unemployment crisis and take due steps to get movements under way to meet this crisis.

We also find large automobile factories located in various territories and our units there must engage in this activity. There are, in addition, plants in the American Can Co., the National Institution, mail order houses, etc., all objectives for such campaigns. A questionnaire will be issued immediately to all branches asking them about the large industrial plants in their locality.

Relations to the I. W. W.

Comrades must be urged to join the I. W. W. wherever the I. W. W. is a mass union (agricultural fields, lumber camps, marine transport, etc.) and work inside the ranks for affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions on the basis of the realization of unity among all workers' economic organizations. Our activities will be carried on in the closest co-operation with the Red International Affiliation Committee. We must impress them that the Communist and the I. W. W. agree upon the revolutionary goal and that there exists no hostility of interest between the two groups. A committee has been chosen to take charge of this work.

INTO THE UNIONS

WE find that many of our members who are eligible to join trade unions do not belong. In some cases there is little difficulty in the way of joining, but in most cases many obstacles must be overcome. This will demand the establishment of youth fractions within the unions. These fractions are to meet also with the T. U. E. L. groups. We must utilize the Workers' Monthly, and other party and T. U. E. L. publications for the advancement of the organization of these fractions and our program within the unions. The work of popularizing the following demands will fall to the youth fractions within the union, and the entire membership must be swung into action to work for their realization: T. U. E. L. groups will also be enlisted to fight jointly with us.

1. Young Workers to be accepted into the unions with lower entrance fees. 2. Abolition of all discrimination between the apprentice and the journeyman in exercising their rights within the unions. 3. Elimination of all age barriers, that prevent the young workers

from joining the union. These demands and others will be formulated after a study is made of the various regulations and rules in the different unions. They should be combined with our economic demands and our task will be to fight for their realization.

When the returns come in on the new industrial registration the industrial committee will have a more accurate knowledge of the status of our membership in the matter of trade union activity. Thru correspondence, the committee will demand from the branch industrial organization a regular report as to whether or not the members belong to the union of their trade or industry. The press and bulletins which are to be issued will be used to create an interest in this work.

Strikes.

Strikes offer the best opportunity of advancing and popularizing our economic demands. In the recent months our experience in strike activity has been considerable. Our first task is to contribute to strike activity in general. In our specific demands must be included those that are applicable to the situation, and which will be easily understood by the strikers and appeal to their needs. At all times we must take the leadership and furnish direction to the many spontaneous rebellions occurring throughout the country. Hegawich, Pullman and other incidents furnish many examples of this work.

The preliminary and immediate tasks in situations of this kind are as follows:

1. Do picket duty.
 2. Sell and distribute literature.
 3. Assist the wages committee.
 4. Furnish speakers to the strike meetings.
 5. Arrange efforts to get money for the benefit of the strikers.
 6. Call meetings of sympathizers.
 7. Organize nuclei as a result of this activity, and the propagation of our economic demands, the nuclei to be the stimulant for all future work.
- In line with the general plan of the N. E. C., every industrial conflict must be participated in and utilized to draw into the ranks of the Y. W. L. as many young workers as possible. In the case of the strike, the form of organization. It should be particularly remembered that we must take advantage of every strike to increase the political consciousness of the young workers by issuing, together with our economic demands, political ones. The political demands should include primarily slogans that apply specifically to the situation, such as: Keep the hands of the police off the strike. No injunctions. No anti-strike propaganda in the schools, and the like.

Unemployment.

Everywhere, the increase of unemployment must be pointed out, showing

that unemployment is a direct result of the capitalist system of production and distribution which can only be eliminated by the abolition of capitalism. Where it has already become a serious factor, involving mass unemployment of workers, we shall join the party in the formation of unemployment councils, or similar bodies. In these councils, special youth demands must be made a part of the program of the jobsless. We must propagate: 1. Work or maintenance of the young workers during unemployment. 2. Vocational training for young workers under the supervision of the trade unions, with financial maintenance by the government and industry. 3. Prevent the youth from scabbing by enabling them to join the unions thru lower entrance fees and the removal of all other artificial barriers.

SHOP NUCLEI

THE quota set for districts by the Young Workers' League nationally, by the time of the next national convention, is fifty nuclei, divided as follows:

New York, 15; Chicago, 15; Detroit, 5; Pittsburgh, 5; Philadelphia, 5; Boston, 5; Minneapolis, 5; Cleveland, 5.

In New York, the membership is predominantly in the clothing industry. As a whole the entire district is in a position to concentrate all of its efforts on this industry. In Chicago, the district includes the mining fields of the southern part of the state, the automobile industry in South Bend, Kenosha and Racine, the steel industry in Hammond, Hegewisch and Pullman. These will be concentrated upon outside of Chicago in the city proper, the clothing industry, mail order houses and numerous miscellaneous factories are adapted to intensified nucleus work. In Detroit, the industries to be worked upon are the automobile and machine shops. In Pittsburgh, as well as Cleveland, the work will be centered on the coal and steel industry. In the city itself, steel; in the smaller mining towns, coal. The clothing industry will be concentrated upon in Philadelphia, steel in Bethlehem and Easton, while in Boston proper the shoe industry, clothing and textile and steel for the outlying territory. Providence is in a position to tackle the jewelry and furniture trades. Minneapolis has the steel, machine shops and clothing industry as its problem.

In each of these territories, the committees must concentrate on the industries as mentioned. Altho in some places there are no members in the industries given, attempts must nevertheless be made to entrench ourselves organizationally. For example, altho the chief Minneapolis industry is the manufacture of flour, other branches

of the flouring industry are in the territory. In each of these territories, the committees must concentrate on the industries as mentioned. Altho in some places there are no members in the industries given, attempts must nevertheless be made to entrench ourselves organizationally. For example, altho the chief Minneapolis industry is the manufacture of flour, other branches

of the flouring industry are in the territory. In each of these territories, the committees must concentrate on the industries as mentioned. Altho in some places there are no members in the industries given, attempts must nevertheless be made to entrench ourselves organizationally. For example, altho the chief Minneapolis industry is the manufacture of flour, other branches

Beginning with Chicago, and spreading to the other large cities, with corresponding efforts in the smaller ones, the branches will be reorganized as a preliminary to the complete reorganization of the league. All branches in a given industrial area will be grouped together into an area branch, whose work will consist in concentrating on the shops and factories in their localities for the purpose of forming shop nuclei. This area branch will be the first step towards the full-grown shop nuclei branch. The area branch is to consist of members of the league who work in that area, and the branch will eventually regroup itself on the basis of the nuclei formed within its jurisdiction.

OUR PRESS

The Young Comrade.

IN as short a time as possible the Young Comrade must be increased to a circulation, guaranteed, of at least 10,000. That is the only method whereby it can be maintained at the present quality and price. The campaign already begun in the paper is not sufficient. It must be widened in the following manner:

There are at least a dozen working class organizations, fraternal in character, whose members are very much interested in seeing their children reared along working class lines, that is, with a working class ideology. If we send out a circular letter to every branch of these organizations, asking them to take a regular bundle of the paper, there is no doubt but that scores of them will comply. There is no need to make a special rate since there will be very few branches that will not take a minimum of \$1.00's worth of the paper every month. This at present, is much more effective than just getting individual subscribers that should not be neglected. A single individual subscriber really does not pay for themselves, but to speak of bringing in a profit.

The fraternal organizations referred to include, for example, the Workers' Circle, Workers' Sick Death Benefit Fund and others. In the campaign, not only the party and league must help, but also the Juniors. Where possible a junior should speak before the body taking out requests under consideration.

Editorially, the paper must get even more material from the Juniors themselves. A bulletin should be sent out to the groups, urging upon them the necessity of "running the paper themselves." The editorial policy remains in the hands of the national committee.

In circularizing the branches, requests will also be made for the sub-

scribing fund. Party branches will also be circulated for both the fund and the bundle orders.

The Young Worker. In order to increase the circulation of the paper we must make a drive for two purposes, increase of bundle orders and subs, and a drive for a Weekly Young Worker Fund!

Pledge cards will be printed, a signature to which will be a promise that the comrade will take a regular bundle of the paper every issue. The minimum is to be three copies per member. This means at the least an expenditure of 15 cents per member per issue.

The weekly fund drive will be for \$2,000.00, the quotas to be assigned to the various branches and districts by the secretariat and the editor. As soon as the money is collected, and the circulation of the Young Worker has reached 10,000, the paper shall be turned into a weekly.

The drive for correspondents to the paper in every city must be pushed until every league has a correspondent who will see to the work in reality.

ANTI-MILITARISM

WITH the growing danger of new capitalist wars, our anti-militarist work must be intensified. Attention in this field has been necessarily small up to now, and in the future it must be continued manifold, with the realization in mind of the forces we have to contend with and the forces we have at our command.

The agitation must be twofold, the education of our own membership as to the Communist anti-militarist position, and the education and organization of the masses of young workers outside of our ranks. For this purpose educational articles on anti-militarism, the causes of war, the Communist position in contrast with that of the pacifists, and other points must be continually published in The Young Worker, The Young Comrade and The DAILY WORKER.

Whenever the occasion warrants, the league, together with the party, and sympathetic working class bodies, shall hold joint meetings against capitalist militarism and the danger of new wars. Such days as "Mobilization Day" should call forth counter demonstrations by the party and the league. Appropriate leaflets shall be printed whenever possible and distributed to be distributed on a mass scale in the industries and among soldiers and sailors. Joint conferences of working class youth organizations shall be held whenever the situation calls for it, and a measure of success—mass participation—warrants the effort.

Connections must be established in colonial countries, and the South and Central American countries, and in neutral training camp stations. Whenever the state militia is democratically organized, that is, open to all who wish to enlist, our slogan must be "Populization among the workers, organized and militant." Working class control of the state militia to prevent it from being used against the workers in times of strikes, etc.

The Juniors groups will carry on its part of the anti-militarist activity by conducting an intensified propaganda against the Boy and Girl Scouts, and the National Youth Administration. Work within the Citizens' Military Training Camp must be developed on an even larger scale than heretofore.

JUNIOR WORK

Decided to send individual communications to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

connections to all junior units. These communications to propagate and find

out to what extent the junior units have carried the following into being: (a) School struggle; (b) Systematic educational work; (c) Self-activity method; (d) International correspondence; (e) Junior organization plan; (f) Plan for the construction of the group; (g) Beginnings of work school methods.

A national bulletin for group leaders will be mimeographed twice a month. The National Junior Department shall develop correspondence with the national children's departments of Great Britain, Germany, Canada. The international correspondence shall be carried out between local children's committees (leaders) and similar bodies in other countries for an exchange of experience and suggestions.

Altho we are endeavoring to systematize all activities in the junior groups and neglect none, for the period mentioned the following specializations take place:

October. School struggle and the creation of school and class nuclei. Our aim, nationally, 50 new members and 50 school nuclei.

November. Systematic educational work. (Study of American history from workers' viewpoint for a start.) December—Finance. A self-supporting junior campaign. Concentration on dues and The Young Comrade. January—International correspondence and the beginning of the work school methods.

A national junior conference shall be held immediately after the Young Workers' League convention, further preparations to be outlined prior to call for the national conference.

EDUCATION

EDUCATIONAL work must go hand in hand with all our activities. For a grounding in the fundamental basis of our movement, the league and party should cooperate in giving opportunity to all comrades to learn the principles of Communism in theory and action.

Our educational work will be carried on in the spirit of Leninism, that is, with the purpose in view of abolishing the Young Workers' League, training our comrades in the teachings of Marx, Lenin and other working class theoreticians, so that they may apply their knowledge in the every day struggle. Our slogan of "Education thru active participation in the struggle" must always be kept before us.

In New York and Chicago, joint classes are already being conducted. Instances where it is possible, the league should hold its own classes on the basis of the youth Communist movement and seek to attract outside working class youth to attend our classes. A committee has been chosen to work out a simple syllabus for a study class intended for use by the comrades organized into new branches of the league. This syllabus can be advantageously used without an instructor.

NEGRO AND AGRARIAN

SPECIAL attention must be paid to winning the Negro youth, particularly in our industrial campaigns in such regions as the Calumet District, Ohio coal and steel, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

The work in the farming communities must be put on a firmer basis and be increased on the basis of the program for the rural youth. Wherever possible, efforts should be made to form contracts for the child laborers in agricultural pursuits.

War Looms With Japan

(Continued from page 1.)

boiled-shirted, dandified gang of capitalist politicians sent as "ministers" to China from all the imperialist nations. They got together and said: "Japan will take Manchuria; England and France and Germany and the United States, this province or that." And so the whole of China was divided up by these foreign capitalists, and China had to "accept" on the dotted line.

When the world war came, Germany was a long way from her piece of pie, so Japan grabbed it. Not for Japanese workers, of course, but for Japanese capitalists. We must always remember when we talk of "Japan did this" or "America did that," we mean their capitalist government, because the workers of both are not consulted. Except when the government don't agree, and even then the workers are not consulted, they're conscripted!

Generals For Sale Who Buy Them?

American capitalism got very rich from the war. It has half the gold of the world and don't know where to invest it. It has need for markets for surplus goods. It became more imperialist than ever before the war. It waited a chance for to born out Japan from China. Knowing that meant WAR, American capitalism looked around to find an excuse which would justify in the minds of boob patriots who are asked to "defend" a boarding-house or rented shack—a murderous, bloody WAR WITH JAPAN.

As they couldn't find an excuse, they made one. They began in a deliberate way to insult the Japanese people, said they were "inferior" etc. And, as there are millions of boob who think people are no good because they are different, they preached that the Japanese are no good because they have a brown skin. Take notice, that only a few Japanese ever come to this country, and that there were brought over by California capitalists and railroad companies to scab on white workers. But these Japanese workers wouldn't scab after they got here. So, to get even with them and to furnish a lot of patriotic bunk, the capitalist papers began to talk about a "Yellow Peril," as if the few thousand Japanese in America were going to walk off with it. The biggest insult was to pass the recent law excluding Japanese as undesirable and inferior people. This was official, because our capitalist government did it. An official insult.

Then, last year, American imperialism saw a good chance to get control of the central Chinese government and use it to crowd Japan out and grab due to Germany. Japan had a big earthquake, which weakened its fighting power. At the same time China had to choose a new president. There, the parliament elected the president. The United States minister to China, Jacob Gould Schurman, who is a

Standard Oil lawyer, took several million in real cash to Peking and bribed enough politicians to make a former bandit named Tao Kun president of China, and besides, to buy control over the biggest army in China by purchasing stock of Chinese generals, headed by Wu Pei Fu.

What did the United States imperialist government do with its general? In January, our capitalist "minister" to China, Mr. Schurman went to Lu Yung-hsiang, governor of the province where Peking is located, and demanded that he stop collecting taxes on tobacco sold by the British-American Tobacco Company. Since Lu Yung-hsiang's province was independent of Peking, and really Japanese control, it was no business of Schurman's at all. But he wanted to start a fight, and he did. He told the governor that if he didn't do as the United States tobacco trust demanded, Schurman would have Wu Pei Fu come down from Peking and wipe out the Chekiang provincial government. The governor didn't yield, so Schurman, headed by Wu Pei Fu, the Peking government, started war against Governor Lu Yung-hsiang of Chekiang. In other words, the United States minister to China declared war on Japan, and both nations began to fight each other in a secret sort of way, using Chinese generals and armies of their own.

Shanghai, where the fight started, is about midway along the Chinese coast. Peking is north. But still north of Peking is Manchuria, where Japan has lots of capitalist interests, in fact it runs Manchuria and it, too, bought some Chinese generals, headed by Chang-Tao-lin. And when American imperialism had its general, Wu Pei Fu, begin attack on Japanese interests at Shanghai, Chang-Tao-lin declared war on Wu Pei Fu—and the fighting is going on right now. The war with Japan is carried on secretly by America, while American capitalism is digging up an excuse on "the immigration question" to make American boobies get sore at Japan and willing to fight in an open war themselves. Young workers, especially, will be supposed to go to war.

Where Are the Workers' Interests?

Where is the Chinese working class in all this? The imperialists who came into China for super-profits out of cheap labor found that Chinese workers, like others, began to form unions and even had a Communist Party. But wherever either Japanese, or English, or American imperialism had control, they broke broke up unions and executed strikers by cutting off their heads, and murdered all Communist leaders they caught.

In only one section of China were the workers allowed to organize freely. That was in the Republic of South China, where Sun Yat Sen, a revolutionary nationalist, had set up a

government opposed to all capitalists, both Chinese and foreign. Just so, did all the imperialists hate Sun Yat Sen and seek to destroy his government.

When the fighting began in the north, Sun Yat Sen was also attacked. The capitalists and business men of Canton, where his government had headquarters, were incited to overthrow Sun Yat Sen. They imported thousands of arms in defiance of law, and when Sun's government seized them, American warships went to Canton and threatened to bombard the helpless city of people if this capitalist "white guard" was not given the arms. This "white guard" even seized a part of the city and when the labor union and farmers came in to help Sun Yat Sen, American warships threatened them. American capitalist papers call these workers "brigands and mercenaries."

So, you see, it is a three-cornered fight. Sun Yat Sen is the only one having a government of workers and farmers opposed to exploiters both native and foreign. American capitalist-imperialism is trying to destroy that government. America is also fighting against Japan. America is trying to drive Japanese capitalists out of China. AMERICA IS THE AGGRESSOR. AMERICA HAS ALREADY DECLARED WAR ON JAPAN.

But if the imperialists of both countries can't settle it—and they cannot—with Chinese soldiers, they'll use Japanese and American soldiers and sailors. So both gangs of robbers are fixing up their people for war. Each "warns" against the danger of the other. America had a "Defense Day" to prepare for war, not for peace. Japan had a demonstration against America. The League of Imperialist Nations is helping the fight along. Japan is using it to justify her capitalist rule in China. The United States is using a mythical "yellow peril" to rouse a lot of foolish workers into a fury of foolish patriotism, so that American capitalists will get you young workers to enlist—at least to stand for being drafted—when the present war with Japan becomes open.

The great machine, into which every day you put, not your pennies, but your lives, is grinding the fortunes out of thousands and thousands of young workers. Headlines, cartoons, carefully written editorials—everything in the capitalist papers, cries aloud: "WAR WITH JAPAN!" Don't you want capitalist war, young workers? There is only one thing that can stop it. That is overthrow of all imperialist governments and the rule of the workers. That's what the Young Workers' League stands for.

A 'Weekly' by the First

FAKE INVESTIGATION OF CHILD SLAVES OF MICHIGAN BEET LAND FAILS TO WHITEWASH THE FACTS

A short while ago there was an investigation in the Michigan beet fields by the National Child Labor Commission, the purpose being to expose the unsanitary conditions and extreme

THE YOUNG WORKER
An Organ of the Young Workers League of America
Vol. III. OCTOBER, 15, 1924 No. 20

Published Twice a Month by the
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE OF AMERICA
MAX SHACHTMAN, Editor

Send all orders and articles, and remit all funds to
THE YOUNG WORKER
1115 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION—\$1.50 per year Single copies 5 cents. 3 cents per copy for bundles of 10 and over.

Member of The Federated Press.

How to Make a War

IN order for country to make a war against another it is necessary to have a real reason and a fake one. The real reason is of course the fact that the financial, commercial, economic interests of their respective capitalists are the same. The fake reasons range from one country being inferior, having violated our honor, having insulted our flag, to making the world safe for democracy. In order to fight a big country like Germany a big excuse, like making the world safe for democracy, is necessary; to fight a small, and weak nation, like Haiti, it is merely necessary to say that they insulted our flag or honor.

But countries are the important ones. For example, Japan. Right now, all preparations are being made by both countries, the United States and Nippon, for a nice juicy little war. You see, America has money galore. In fact we are the richest nation in the world, not that the workers know it, but just the same we have about half of the gold in the globe right in those forty-eight states. And what is the good of money if there is no place to invest it so that it may grow thru the toil of the working class? So the boss is continually looking for a nice place to shove in a few million bucks in order that another few million can be turned out.

One of the best places right now for the investment of unemployed coin is in China. And the struggle for the control of China's resources and government, between the United States, England and Japan, forms the basis for the present civil war in China. The first break will undoubtedly occur between the United States and Japan. Where England will line up is as yet not definite, but all indications point to a line up against the United States. The struggle for world domination of markets is today between England and America primarily.

Already the newspapers controlled by the capitalists of America are exciting and inflaming the minds of the workers against the Japs. The Chicago Tribune, for example, prints obviously manufactured "plans" which are said to have been drawn up by Japan for the conquering of America, and found—purely by accident, of course!—by an enterprising Tribune reporter. Articles are written about the inferiority of the Japanese race, and all the sources of information and the molding of opinion are transformed into machines for the manufacture of hatred of the Japanese.

All of it is the laying of the ground for war. Thus it was in the last war, when the newspapers, movies, schools and churches were filled with propaganda against the Germans, the terrible Hun. Today it is the Japs. Tomorrow it will be the "bloody Britisher."

But behind it all is the struggle for more profits on the part of the capitalist class. And it is well to remember this.

When war does break out, and it will as certainly as capitalism continues to exist, let the young workers who are "called to the colors" bear in mind what they are fighting for. Let them remember that it is not for honor, or for democracy that they are called on to lay down their lives. Let them know that wars are fought under capitalism in order that the field of profit-production may be extended for the boss, so that he may add another summer home, motor car, poodle for his wife—or mistress.

And let them also bear in mind that by refusing to go into the army, they are fooling themselves into believing that they can then prevent war. It is only by entering the army, but for revolutionary purposes, that war will finally be brought to an end.

The end of the capitalist system means the end of mass bloodshed for profit.

A Weekly Young Worker

THE decision of the national executive committee of the Young Workers League to make our organ, The Young Worker, a weekly paper by the first of the new year, will bring a joyous response not only from our members but also from our readers.

Those who remember the beginnings of The Young Worker will recall that it began a small monthly magazine sixteen pages, with a tiny circulation. Its name was Youth. This was finally turned over to the Young Workers League upon the formation of the organization, and was given the name of The Young Worker. But there was very little advance from its previous status. But with the growth of our league and its activities, came the growth of our paper. Soon its circulation ran into the thousands. With the beginning of this year, 1924, the magazine was turned into a fortnightly newspaper, of a six column width. Later another column was added. It is in that form today.

But now we are going to make it a weekly. And for that purpose we must have the undivided sup-

port of all the members of the league and the readers of the paper. The circulation must be increased to 10,000 per issue and a fund of at least \$2,000 must be raised by January 1st, 1925, the date of the first number of the weekly Young Worker. This drive is a test of the organization and if we put it over, as we most certainly will, we can then say that we are capable of doing the things that lead to a mass movement.

A weekly Young Worker means twice the amount of propaganda being spread by our league. A weekly Young Worker means twice the amount of activity in the league. A weekly Young Worker means that we can carry on our campaigns on a much larger scale than heretofore when we have had to rely on one issue of the paper to sustain a drive over a period of two weeks.

We have no doubt of the ability of our organization to accomplish the task set for it. Every one's shoulder and energy must be applied to the wheel. Let us push hard and put the drive over the top. No impossible task has been planned, but one which it is in our power to achieve easily. It needs only the whole-hearted support of all the comrades for success.

Our aim: A weekly Young Worker by the end of the year! We know you will do your share!

Civics and Sapheads

OUR own super-patriotic childhood, spent in the public schools of New York city, was recalled to us this fall by the announcements of a whole new series of "civics" courses, to be instituted in the elementary and high schools all over the country. We can remember how we were flattened to a moral pulp by a crushing sense of our own worthlessness in failing to appreciate the magnanimity of the city's electric trust in sharing with us its lightning power. We can remember how we were regularly revived to a pleasing and rosy red smugness by hot-air talks of the influence we could exercise in showing loyalty and faith in American ideals. We were stuffed with axioms about "democracy," pumped full of guff about "Americanization"—which was regarded as a sort of missionary work among heathen foreigners.

William McAndrew, who is now superintendent of Chicago's schools, was right when he said that "the text-books which are supposed to discuss our civic problems do not know enough to keep women's whiskers from financial and moral bankruptcy."

But the text-books which McAndrew has permitted for use in the new courses in "civics" which he has introduced into Chicago schools—evidently forgetting his words of two years ago—add a new feature to this kind of work. Through all of the texts runs a yellow thread of anti-labor propaganda.

The most popular of the civics text in use, the school librarians tell you, is R. O. Hughes' "Elementary Civics." Prominently placed is a drawing occupying nearly three-quarters of a page, showing the Massachusetts militia breaking up the Boston police strike of 1919. "They have arrested some crap-shooters," says the caption. The remainder of the space devoted to union activities is in substance an eloquent plea that this sort of "crap-shooting" be done away with.

Another of Hughes' books, "Elementary Civics," is popular for use in the higher grades. Here is one of the questions Hughes proposes for discussion: "Show how the loudest public often have to suffer during a strike." Not very different, in its policy of assumption, from that question later asked us in an examination at anniversary: "Show five reasons why socialism is impracticable!"

Do the children answer these questions? Of course they do—and they do it very properly, too, after learning, first, that the reasons for unemployment are "sickness, injury and strikes," that "the best type of union movement is the American Federation of Labor," and that "its president, Samuel Gompers, ranks . . . among the most intelligent and far-sighted of labor leaders."

Scaring the Bankers

IT'S a pretty easy thing to scare the bankers. The slightest sign of radicalism is a threat to their wealth, social position, their rank in the forefront of those who ride the hardened backs of the ones who sweat. And so, whenever the bankers get together at one of their annual confabs, their greatest pleasure lies in denouncing rebels.

Thus it is at the convention of the American Bankers' Association in Chicago.

"The bulk of the radical vote comes from young men born in this country, not from foreign born," means Justice James C. Cropper, of New York, at the bankers' convention.

That's bad. From reading the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune we were under the impression that the radicals were a peculiar, un-American lot, with long whiskers, knives in their teeth, bombs in their hands and pistols on their hips. Now it seems that isn't quite true. It seems as the young workers of America are becoming a bit radical, don't you know. They aren't swallowing the boss' piffle so readily as they used to. Hard times, you see, are making an impression on the veriest Henry Duhr. And the bankers aren't great pleased over it. They are more because all the newspapers, and schools and pulpits that they have under their thumb are failing to keep the veil of blindness over the heads of the workers, especially the young.

The success of the Young Workers League in reaching ever wider masses of young toilers is but a sign of the times.

Let's scare the entire capitalist class some more. Yes, by our activity let us eventually scare the blooming crew out of existence.

Before the International Tribunal

REPRINTED below is the decision reached by the special commission of the executive committee of the Young Communist International on the situation in the Young Workers League of America. It considers the past activity and present status of the American league, and gives an outline of the next tasks confronting us with suggestions on how to meet them. This important document should be carefully considered by the league membership since it embodies the line of action that will be followed by us in the future, and is written in the light of the report of our delegates to the congress of the Y. C. I. and the experience of the international.

All of the points mentioned in this decision are self-explanatory. A outline of our coming activity is presented there, and in another part of this issue of The Young Worker is our plan of action in accordance with the suggestions of the Young Communist International. If we carry out this plan we can safely say that the growth in numbers and influence of our young Communist organization is assured. But this can be done only if we bear well in mind that part which reads: "All the above work can only be carried out if the Young Workers League is one united whole. . . . All factional disputes must cease and the decision of the national executive committee, carried into practice wholeheartedly. If we are to achieve our aim of becoming a young Leninist organization, the above paragraph must be strictly adhered to. Our league must become a 'monolithic league' of one piece" and not of petty little factions.

In the words of the fifth congress of the Communist International, we must demand "a more iron discipline than hitherto from every section and from every . . . leader."

With a united organization, firmly grounded around the program of the Young Communist International and the Young Workers League, following the leadership of the national executive committee, we shall advance along the lines laid down in the document of the Y. C. I. and proceed on the road towards becoming a Leninist organization, a mass movement of the young workers of America.

AFTER a thorough discussion and consideration of the past activity and the present situation of the Young Workers League of America, the special commission of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International has arrived at the following conclusions:

The Past Activity.

1. It appeared that the delegation of the Y. W. L. of A. at the Third Congress was somewhat opposed to economic trade union work and this had some effect upon the league. Although the Second Congress of the Y. W. L. of A. adopted a program which was fully in line with the decisions of the Y. C. I. congresses, the N. E. C. applied these decisions in a hesitating manner, this can be accounted for by lack of experience and by the difficult situation existing in America. This state of affairs led to a discussion between the N. E. C. of the Y. W. L. of A. and the Y. C. I. Later, in connection with the situation within the party, there arose a discussion between the majority and the minority of the N. E. C. which resulted in a factional dispute.

2. Although there is a healthy heresy in the criticism of the opposition (minority) the accusation of "sabotage" is unfounded and must be rejected, the more so as the N. E. C. tried hard to carry thru the decisions and the Y. C. I. can therefore have full confidence in the N. E. C.

3. As both the above mentioned conflicts have now been liquidated by the decisions of the C. I. and the Y. C. I. respectively, the Y. C. I. urges all the comrades to abstain from disputes and to co-operate in a comradely spirit in their work. The criticism and the activities of the Y. C. I. and its representative in the U. S. A. in May, 1923, have proved beneficial to the league; this is evidenced by the actual progress made and by the statement of the American delegation at the Fourth congress. The work should now be proceeded with the basis of the following points:

Future Activity and Next Tasks.

4. The central problem of the league is the creation of a mass organization of young workers and the winning over of the broad masses of the young workers in large scale industry. This means a systematic and definite campaign for increasing the membership, which should aim at a membership of 10,000 by 1925.

5. The main tasks of the league are: The concentration upon the building of shop nuclei; the carrying on of energetic economic trade union work, which must play a foremost role in the entire activity of the league, and a further improvement of "The Young Worker" giving it more and more a mass character and making immediate preparation to turn it into a weekly by the first of the new year.

6. In order to reach this aim the league must concentrate on these comrades. Above all the league must inaugurate an energetic and systematic campaign for the building of shop nuclei and the complete re-organization of the league on its basis by concentrating itself on the most important industrial centers (Illinois, Pennsylvania, New England, etc.).

7. The league must set up a plan of work for a period of say, six months during which a certain number of nuclei should be formed, a certain number of branches completely reorganized and a certain number of new members won. In industrial centers where the league has not yet got a foothold, it should strive to build up the league from the very beginning on the basis of shop nuclei.

8. On the field of the economic trade union work the league should proceed on the basis of the theses of the Y. C. I. congresses as well as on the basis of the decisions of the Second congress of the Y. W. L. to real practical work. The past activity,

which can be termed as "journalistic" activity should now be replaced by the daily and persistent struggle for the demands set up. No strike should be allowed to pass without the league coming forward with its own demands in each concrete situation. This point must be particularly stressed because the league has in the past, in many instances, failed to come forward with its own demands for the young workers and contented itself with a general participation in the strike work, which, of course, is not sufficient. The league should intensify its economic and trade union activity by initiating and leading campaigns for specific youth demands, similar to the activities already being carried out in the Western Electric and the Bunte Candy companies. In order to extend this work the league should proceed to organize conferences of the working youth in such places where conditions are favorable, i. e. where we already have shop nuclei.

9. The Y. C. I. observes that the full delegation of the Y. W. L. of A. is in complete agreement with the practical program as outlined at the Fourth Congress (such as the theses on economic trade union work, etc.). This is a big step forward. The practical tasks of the league with this work, and the Trade Union Educational League should be incorporated in the plan of work of the Y. W. L.

10. With regard to the work within the unions the league should pursue the policy outlined in the theses of the Y. C. I. Above all the league must continue its energetic campaign for the reduction of the entrance fees and dues and the formation of Y. W. L. fractions within the unions.

11. Beside the general activities in the Y. W. L. the league should carry on special youth activities as outlined in the international theses (the formation of Communist youth fractions, representation of the demands of the young workers, incorporation of same in the program of the Y. W. L. and the appointment of representatives of the league on all organs of the Y. W. L. locally and

nationally). Special youth columns in the press of the Y. W. L. should be established containing explanatory articles on the demands of the young workers; agitation should be carried on for the most important demands thru the organs of the Y. W. L. These demands should not only be propagated but also carried into effect.

12. The educational activity should be improved and carried on in line with the decision of the Y. C. I. i. e., the training in the spirit of Leninism. This means educational work carried on for the bolshhevization of the league and the party and the creation of a reserve army of young Leninists within the league for future work in the party. The bolshhevization of the party means first and foremost the reorganization of the party on the basis of the shop nuclei. The league should systematically transform all social, etc. into real revolutionary evenings with educational and propaganda value.

13. With the bolshhevization of the league must come the increase of the anti-militarist activity. At the present stage of the development of this activity it is necessary that a systematic educational campaign be carried out on the basis of the Y. C. I. theses which must be systematically carried into effect.

14. Although the league has made some efforts to get the young farmers into the league, the activity on this field, despite the favorable objective conditions (agrarian crisis has been insufficient and in view of the difficult no great headway has been made. It is the task of the league to carry on an energetic campaign among the young rural wage workers, youth of the small farmers etc. for concrete demands as outlined in the resolution on the work among the rural youth (theses of the IV. Congress and instructions regarding educational activities among the rural youth).

15. While the work among the children, i. e. the creation of a real children's movement by enrolling the

children of the working class in the class struggle showed very good results, it must be stated that the utilization of the children for the struggle against child labor was somewhat neglected. Some good beginnings were however made on the day of the school struggle. This school struggle should be carried on in such a way that the junior section is behind them the Y. W. L. had the fight for concrete demands. Above all an energetic campaign should be carried on against child labor on the basis of concrete demands (in connection with the general struggle of the working class, with the school struggle, school strikes, etc.).

16. The league should now take the initiative for the creation of workers sports organizations with the object in view of forming a national workers sports organization. In view of the fact that the bosses use sport as a means to estrange the workers from their class outlook and to convert them to the idea of class collaboration, the nuclei should pay special attention to the sports clubs of the various factories. The league should work in such clubs to win the young workers for the Y. W. L. and the workers' sports organizations.

17. In order to give a new impetus to the work among the Negro youth a special Negro department (Negro colonial dept.) should be set up with in the N. E. C. The league should strive to get a young colored worker into the N. E. C. and develop work among the young colored workers (as well as the children) thru special literature and by utilizing the existing Negro organizations particularly for the work among the Negroes in the South.

18. Steps should be taken for enlarging the N. E. C. which should be systematically departmentalized. Comrades outside of the N. E. C. should be drawn into the national work making their functional of the various departmental committees. Apart from this, steps should be taken for the reorganization of the league council.

The American Young Communists are the Chiefs of Budenny's Red Corps



BUDENNY

cavalry division, their representatives appeared before the executive committee of the Young Communist International and requested that the international adopt the division. The Y. C. I. decided to do this with great pleasure.

The division was then divided into its separate corps and the chieftainship of each was distributed as follows:

The 79th regiment to the German Young Communist League; the 80th to the French; the 81st to the Italian; the 82nd to the Czech-Slovakian; the 83rd to the British; the 84th to the Polish; the Saper Section to the Norwegian; the Liaison Division to the Bulgarian.

The Young Workers League of America was given the horse artillery. Immediately upon receipt of the information the national executive committee of the league has issued the following declaration to the horse artillery corps of Budenny's division:

"To the Revolutionary Fighters of Budenny's Division of the Red Army!"

"Comrades! In the name of the revolutionary young Communist League of America we greet you and declare the deep honor we feel at having been given the chieftainship of one of the bravest sections of the red army of the Russian proletariat. We are proud to be associated with the red fighters of the workers' revolution, the only army in the world that fights for the freedom of the oppressed masses, and not as the bound cannon fodder of capitalist imperialism, shooting down their fellow workers in other uniforms in order to insure the victory of the bourgeoisie of their land. We are proud to accept the chieftainship of that arm of the Russian proletariat that has crushed the counterrevolutionary armies of the world and has maintained the hegemony of the workers and peasants in the first Soviet Republic in the world.

"Comrades, while you are armed to defend the interests of the workers and peasants and their state, the young workers of America are being trained in the art of capitalist murder, while the Republic of the Soviets is exerting all of its energy in a struggle against imperialism, the capitalist master of America are preparing the working youth of this country to defend the interests of imperialism, to die on the altar of capitalist profits.

"We know of your exploits, comrades. We know that the name of the Red Army strikes terror in the hearts of the exploiters of the laboring masses. We know that your division is the brightest gem in the crown of the revolutionary proletariat of the world.



The executive committee of the Young Communist International photographed together with aiders and officers of Budenny's divisions, the chieftainship of which the Y. C. I. has been given internationally. Various regiments have been handed over to the chieftainship of various young communist leagues, the Young Workers League of America having received the leadership of the horse artillery.

"In America, we have our battles to fight. We are confronted with the most vicious and brutal bourgeoisie of the world. Their cynical terrorism against the slightest attempt of the masses to better their conditions is notoriously known to the workers of the world. But we are rallying our strength, gaining new recruits to the banner of the Communist and Young Communist International, arming our joins for the final struggle, while we fight side by side with the workers in their every day struggles.

"Realizing the significance of our newly gained chieftainship we pledge ourselves to work with renewed energy for the goal of the class con-

"EDUCATORS" OF TWIN CITIES PREPARE FOR ATTEMPT TO BUST UP JUNIOR GROUPS OF LEAGUE

(Special to the Young Worker)
ST. PAUL, Minn.—The organized teachers of St. Paul will not join with the chief of school Ferguson in his drive to persecute member of the junior groups of the Young Workers League. Miss Florence Rood, acting executive secretary of the St. Paul Federation of Women Teachers, when asked if the federation would co-operate with Commissioner Ferguson in combating the spread of soviet propaganda in the schools, replied that she had nothing to say. "I do not care to be quoted in the matter," she said curtly, and refused to discuss the situation. This is taken to mean that the teachers' campaign against the Communist children which is being started here.

The excitement in official school circles was begun by the sudden discovery of a copy of "The Young Worker," official organ of the junior groups which has been circulating for a year already. The capitalist rage especially the St. Paul Post-Dispatch became crazy with rage over the fact that the children's Communist paper had printed appeals against the Boy Scouts and for the working class struggle for freedom.

In the usual manner in which the capitalist press treats of Communist propaganda, these small-minded perverts are trying to make much over the fact that many of the articles in The Young Worker are not signed with one hundred per cent Anglo Saxon names. The population of St. Paul is itself far from containing a surplus of Jacksons, Franklins and Ludgus; instead it contains a far greater number of McCarthys, O'Connors, Schmidts, and Wolfers. The difference between the capitalists and the Communists is that the latter make no distinction between races colors or creeds, but only between the working class and their exploiters and the organization of the young children of the toilers to understand this and to carry on a fight against the system that divides society into those two categories is the same thing that is getting on the nerves of the 12 a week hacks that write for the kept press.